1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Christian era, and into Great Tibet in the middle of the seventh century.

Previous to the occupation of Tibet by Khri-Tsampo, in about 250 B.C., there is nothing known of its history, excepting the fact that the people were of the Bon or Pon religion, which, like that of the Indian *Tirthakaras*, was an epicurean atheism. According to the Mogul author Sanang Setzen, Khri-Tsampo was an Indian prince of the Litsabyi (or Lichhavi) race, who, being conquered in war, had sought refuge in Tibet, where he was hospitably received, and afterwards proclaimed king by the people, who are called the *Debchin Bonbo* of heaven, and the *Yang Bonbo* of earth.* Csoma de Körös repeats a similar story, with the addition that Nya-Khri-Tsampo, "being defeated in battle," fled to Tibet, where he was acknowledged as king by the *Pons*. The date of 250 B.C., assigned to this event by Csoma, makes the Lichhavi prince a contemporary of the great Buddhist king Asoka, by whom he was most probably expelled from India; for the Lichhavi family had been the leading people in the community of Vaisáli for many centuries, during which time they distinguished themselves by their fierce opposition to the Buddhists. They opposed Sakya himself in argument, and were silenced, but not convinced by him. The Lichhavis of Vaisáli professed entire belief in Swasti, from which they derived their name of *Swástikas*, or followers of

* M. Schmidt supposes that these terms indicate the people of the mountains and valleys. They may, however, denote only different sects; the one affecting heavenly aspirations, the other leaning to earthly objects. *Debchin* is most probably Tibetan,—the "blissful,"—which is used by the Tibetans as an equivalent of the Sanskrit *Sugata*, the "well-gone," or blessed, an epithet of former Buddhas. *Yang* may be the Tibetan *Yangs*, great, vast.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

795 the "mystic cross," which was a monogrammatic sign, formed of the letters *su* and *ti*. The combination *suti* is the Pali form of the Sanskrit *swasti*, which is compounded of *su*, well, and *asti*, it is. Wilson gives the meaning of "so-be-it;" but both versions equally imply complete resignation under all circumstances, which was the chief dogma of the fatalist *Swástikas*. These followers of the mystic cross held the doctrine of eternal annihilation after death; from which they derived their Tibetan name of *Mu-stegs-pa*, or "Finitimists."* According to the Tibetans, they were indecent in their dress, and grossly atheistical in their principles. They called themselves *Tirthakara*, or "pure doers;" and the synonymous name of *Punya*, "the pure," was carried with them into Tibet, where it became celebrated for ages, and where it still survives as *Pon* amongst the Finitimists of the eastern province of Khan.

175 779 According to the Chinese, the founder of the doctrine of the *Tao-sse*, or Rationalists, was *Laotze*, who lived from about B.C. 604 to 523. He was therefore a contemporary of Sakya Muni, by whom he is said to have been worsted in argument. By the Tibetan Buddhists he is called Sen-rabs;† but this perhaps signifies nothing more than that he was of the race or family of Sena. His faith continued paramount in Great Tibet for nine centuries, until Buddhism was generally introduced by Srong-Stan in the middle of the seventh century. But 798 779 the followers of the *Yung-drung-pa*, or "mystic cross," were still powerful; and in A.D. 899 Buddhism was formally abolished by *Lang Tarma*, and was not again

* Csoma de Körös, Grammar, p. 192.

† Id. ibid. p. 181.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

III.—DIFFERENT SECTS—LAMAS.

During the palmy days of Indian Buddhism, the faith of the Tibetans most probably partook of all the different fluctuations of belief that prevailed in India. The most ancient religious sect that is now known is the *Nyimapa*, all of whom wear red dresses. Most of the Lamas in Ladák and Ngari are of this sect. In the middle of the eighth century *Urgyan Rinpoche* (the gem of Urgyan, or Padma Sambhava) was invited into Tibet by Khrisrong De-tsan. He is said to have been an incarnation of the Dhyáni Buddha Amitabha (*Hod-pag-med*). He was the founder of a new sect, who differ from the *Nyimapas* chiefly in their worship of this incarnation. In the eleventh century Tibet was visited by *Chovo-Atisha*, a Bengali Pundit, who infused new vigour amongst the votaries of Buddhism. His pupil *Bromston* founded the Rareng monastery, and originated the *Káhdampa** sect, or those who are content with the observance of the "precepts" (*kah*), without caring for the acquirement of the higher branches of transcendental wisdom. The followers of these three sects all wear red dresses. Another sect, the *Sákyapas*, also wear red; but I know nothing of their peculiar tenets.

In the middle of the fourteenth century appeared the great Lama *Tsong khapa*. Some say that he was an incarnation of Amitábha (*Hod-pag-med*), and others of Manju Sri (*Jámya*). He was born in 1355, and died in 1419. He built the temple of *Gáhldán*, and was the first great abbot (*khánpo*), who occupied the Gáhldán

* *bKah-gDams-pa*, "followers of the precepts."—Csoma, Grammar, p. 197.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

chair, which has been filled by a succession of abbots down to the present day.

The earlier abbots or patriarchs were the following :*—

1.	Tsong-kha-pa	born 1355 A.D.
		founded Gáhldán 1407
2.	Darma Rinchhen	born 1417
3.	Gelek Paldan	„ 1429
4.	Zhalu Lekpa	„ 1436
5.	Logros Chhos	„ 1448
6.	Baso Chhosgyan	„ 1461
7.	Logros Tanpa	„ 1471
8.	Mon Lampal	„ 1478

Previous to the establishment of the *Gáhl-dán* chair by Tsongkhapa, there would appear to have been no great patriarchs, or head abbots, of the Lamaïc priesthood; but the principle being once established, the attainment of this rank became an object of ambition, and the great abbots of *Gáhldán* were soon eclipsed by the superior piety, greater learning, and more active zeal of the abbots of *Tashi-Lhunpo*.† But the fame of Tsongkhapa was confirmed. He had established the annual feast of "intense supplication," which is still observed, and had originated the great sect of *Gelukpa* (the virtuous), which are distinguished from the older sects by a yellow dress. This sect is now the most numerous in Tibet, and both the *Dalai Lama* of Lhasa and the *Tashi Lama* of Tashi-Lhunpo belong to it. Tsongkhapa's memory is still venerated throughout Tibet. Pictures of him are hung up in all the temples, and the holy impressions of his hands and feet are said to be preserved

* Csoma's Chronology. Grammar, p. 181.

† *bKra-shis-Lhun-po*, the "mass of glory." It is pronounced *Tashi*, and is a very common man's name. Lhun-po is the English word "lump;" and the Greek Ο-λυμπο-ς.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

in butter* in the western chamber of the Potála monastery.

Gedun Tub-pa ("the perfect Lama"), the founder of Tashi-Lhunpo, was born in A.D. 1339. He built the temple in 1445, and died in 1474. Before his death he had supplanted the abbots of *Gáhldán* in the estimation of the people, and his successors have enjoyed the reputation which he established: for previous to his time the great abbots of Gáhldán had been elected by the choice of the Lamas; but the bold and original mind of *Gedun Tub-pa* devised the present system of a perpetual incarnation. He himself was said to be an incarnation of the celestial Bodhisatwa Padma Páni; and at his death he relinquished the attainment of Buddhahood, that he might be born again and again, for the benefit of mankind. He died in 1473, and in 1474 his successor *Gedun Gya-tsho* (the Ocean of Lamas) was discovered as an infant by the possession of certain divine marks. The fifth in succession, *Navang Lozang Gyatsho*, founded the hierarchy of Dalai Lamas at Lhasa, in 1640, and made himself master of the whole of Tibet. In 1643 he rebuilt the Potála monastery, and in 1650, after repeated solicitations, he paid a visit to the Emperor of China. The inscription of the Emperor Khang-hi, engraved on stone, calls the grand Lama of Lhasa, who had been reigning in 1642 (that is, Navang-Lozang), the *fifth* Dalai Lama. But he was in fact the *first* Dalai Lama, although he was the *fifth* Tashi Lama who had

* Nouv. Journ. As. 1830, p. 169. Father Hyacinthe. The prints of the Grand Lama's hands were eagerly sought for by the people.—Turner, 459. Several of my pictures have these prints on the back. I have also a *sanad*, or grant, by the Emperor Akbar, which bore on the back the print of his royal hand.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

175 occupied the chair of Tashi Lhunpo. Since his time
793 there have been two great Lamas, the one called the Dalai Lama, occupying the chair at Lhasa, and the other called the Tashi Lama, filling the chair at Tashi Lhunpo. Precedence is given to the Dalai Lama, both in writing and in conversation; but their influence is pretty equally divided. Both chairs are filled by a succession of supposed incarnations, and generally the elder of the two is the most influential. The succession from *Gedun Tubpa* down to the present day is the following:

—	Written Names.	Spoken Names.	Date. A.D.	Remarks.
1	dGe-hDun-Grub-pa	Gedun-Tubba	1389	Born. Founded Tashi Lhunpo 1445.
2	dGe-hDun-rGya-mTsho ..	Gedun-Gyatsho ..	1474	
3	bSod-nams-rGya-mTsho ..	Sonam-Gyatsho ..	1541	Visited Altun Khán.
4	Yon-tan-rGya-mTsho ..	Yontan-Gyatsho ..	1587	
5	Nag-dVang-bLo-bZang ..	NAVANG LOZANG ..	1615	Established himself as Dalai Lama; 1640 conquered Tibet; and visited the Emperor of China 1650.
6	Rin-chhen-Tshangs-dByangs	Rinchhen Tshang Chang	1690	?
7	bLo-bZang-skal-lDan ..	Lozang-Kaldan	1725	?
8	bLo-bZang-hJam-dPal ..	Lozang-Jampal ..	1760	A minor in 1774.
9	Lung-rTogs-rGya-mTsho ..	Luntok Gyatsho ..	1790	?
10	Tshul-khrims-rGya-mTsho ..	Tshul-thim Gyatsho ..	1817	?
11	dGe-dMu-reGya-mTsho ..	Gemure Gyatsho ..	1835	Nine years in 1844.

● 795 But besides these two great Lamas of the yellow sect of
793 Gelukpa, there is a third great Lama in Bhutan, called the *Dharma Raja*, who is the head of the *Dukpa* sect, all of whom wear red dresses. Dharma Raja is his usual title amongst the people of Bhután, but amongst the Tibetans he is generally called *Jigten Gonpo** (Lord of the World). The Dalai Lama is called *Gyalba Rinpochhe*,

* See Plate XXII.

1;Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

775 the "Gem of Majesty," and the Tashi Lama is called
793 *Panchen Rinpochhe*, the "Gem of Learning."

792 All who have taken the vows of celibacy are called by the collective name of *Gédun*, the clergy. A monk is styled Lama, and a nun Ani. But the followers of the Gelukpa sect are divided into several classes. The lowest grade is the *Getshul*, or neophyte, and the *Gétshulma*,* or novice. The professed monk is called *Gelong*, and the professed nun *Gelongma*.

795 The principal sects in Tibet have already been mentioned, but there are some others deserving of notice. Of these the principal is the *Karmapa*,† or "believers in the efficacy of works." They are the same as the *Kármmikas* of Nepál. The *Kahgyudpas* are "believers in the succession of precepts." They are satisfied with the observance of the *Do* (sutras or aphorisms), and care not for the attainment of the esoteric doctrines of the *Sherchin* (Prajnáparamitá), or "transcendental wisdom." The *Brikhungpa* sect derives its name from the district of Brikhung. I know nothing of their tenets. All the above sects were offshoots of the Gelukhpa, and accordingly they wear yellow dresses. The Dukpa sect wear a red dress. They are numerous in Bhutan, and are found all over Tibet. I know nothing of their peculiar tenets; but from the name of the sect, *Dad-Dukpa*, which means "faith in the thunderer," I should suppose that they pay especial reverence to the holy *Dorje* (*Vajra*, or thunderbolt) which descended through the air, and fell at Sera in Tibet. A picture which I possess of the great Lama *Skyobba Jigten Gonpo*, of the red sect, represents him with the *Dorje* in his right hand.

* See Plate XXIV. † *Karma-pa*, naturalized from Sanscrit.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

795 It seems probable, therefore, that the name of the sect was derived as I have supposed.

IV.—DRESS—RITUALIC INSTRUMENTS.

292 792 Most of the Lamas in Ladák wear a red coat with sleeves and long skirts secured by a red girdle. All wear red boots. Most of them are bareheaded, but the higher Lamas wear semicircular red caps. One great Lama, the abbot of Lama Yurru, wears a peculiar hat, formed of bands that diminish in width by steps towards 302 the top.* Most Lamas have their heads shaved, or the 792 hair cropped short; but the abbot's hair was uncut. The pictures of the grand Lamas, both yellow and red, represent them without hair. This agrees with the practice of the Indian Buddhists, who were obliged to shave 292 their heads. The Dharma Raja, or great Lama of the 792 red sect, wears a semicircular red cap similar to those of the Ladáki Lamas.† His right arm is bare, but the rest of his person is clothed in ample red garments, suitable to a cold climate. The *Sanghati*, or kilt, and the *uttara-sanghati*, or cloak, of the Indian Buddhists, are formed into a coat with sleeves and skirt, and over this is worn a robe or blanket. In all the pictures the *antara-vásaka*, or "inner vest," is represented beneath the other dress. This is no doubt shown purposely, to prove that the great Lamas, according to the command of Sakya, never lay aside their inner vests.

The Dalai and Tashi Lamas wear the same description of dress, but of a yellow colour. But all of them have transgressed the holy precept not to wear any ornamented

* See Plates XXIII. and XXIV.

† See Plates XXII. and XXIII.

CASTE--riks or roospa.

564 565 There are 5 great classes or castes, each of which is termed a "riks" the sub divisions of these 5 great classes are called roospa."

If a person of a higher "riks" marries a person of a lower "riks", the former is put out of caste and joins the caste into which he or she has married.

The following table shows the different classes and their principal sub-divisions.

The first class or "rigál riks" consists only of royal personages.

[795] The second class or "trangzey riks" consists of priests of the different sects. Among Lámás no castes are recognized, all lámás in virtue of their priestly calling, rank next to the royal caste.

[647] The third class or "rjey riks" consists of the upper class officials.

The fourth class or "hmang riks" consists of the Zamindars in general.

[463] The fifth class or "tólbey riks" consists of artizans, musicians, dancers, and jugglers.

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CLASS I. Rgiál riks.	CLASS II. Trángzey riks.	CLASS III. Rjey riks.
SUB-DIVISION.	SUB-DIVISIONS.	SUB-DIVISIONS.
	Red Cap Sects ...	
	(1) Rnikmápa ...	1 Cho ...
	(2) Urgianpa ...	2 Kaión ...
	(3) Saskiápa ...	3 Lonpo ...
None	(4) Kárgiootpa.	4 Hlap dak or
	(5) Skarmápa ...	Hlardak ...
	(6) Drigongpa ...	...
	(7) Staglungpa.	...
	(8) Hlondrukpa	...
None	Yellow Cap Sect	...
	(9) Geylukspa or	
None	GHaldanpa...	...
	...	...
	...	...
	...	...

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CLASS IV. Hmang riks.	CLASS V. Tólbey riks.
SUB-DIVISIONS	SUB-DIVISIONS
1 Nángso (kings treasurer).	1 Zóspon (officer of artizans).
2 Chakdzot (steward)	2 Zópa (artizan).
3 Ngierpa (storekeeper).	3 Sárzópa (goldsmith).
4 ChhakSHi (king's domestics).	4 Mulzópa (silver smith).
5 GHópa (doorkeeper).	5 Zángzópa (copper smith).
6 ToGHóchey (lambardar.)	6 Lchakzópa or gára (black smith).
7 Trongspon (assistant lambardar.)	7 SHingkhan (carpenter).
8 Chhoompa (the waterer of the king's fields).	8 Rtsikspon (builder).
9 Rardzi (goatherd).	9 Koszópa or kos tsem khan (tailor).
10 Bardzi (cowherd).	10 Mon (musician.)
11 Thralpa (cooly).	11 Hlamkhan (shoemaker).
12 Khirdzi (dogkeeper).	12 Beyda musician.
...	Malákhan juggler.

T builder, and first abbot khanpo), of the great Galdán or
792 (GHaldán) monastery.
779 Láma Tsongkhápa prohibited clerical marriages, and generally
WT speaking re-introduced a stricter and more austere form of Bud-
792 dhism of Lamaism, which was not approved of by all. The
779 consequence was that a schism arose in the Buddhist church,
which then divided itself into two sects.

T The reformers, followers of Láma Tsongkhápa, assumed the title of
792 "Geylukspa" or "the virtuous ones," while the conservative
● 795 party was called Drukpa or Dukpa or "zhámár," e. i., "Red
779 cap."
The original dress of all Lamas was a red petticoat (SHamthap), a
WT waistcoat (stotGHak) embroidered in gold and other colours, a
792 red shawl (zanggos), thrown over the left arm and shoulder,
795 and wrapped round the body, leaving the left arm bare, a red
779 cap (zhamar or panjoo or teebee márpo), and a red cloth bag
(chhapreel) about 12 x 6 inches, suspended from the left side by
a string round the waist, and reaching half way down to the
knee. In the neck of this bag is a pocket, in which is kept a
small long-necked brass vessel (chhapluk), containing about an
ounce of water, called "hngakschhoo" "or incantation water,"
with a drop or two of which the Lámás render themselves cere-
monially pure, after performing the offices of nature and at
certain other [80] times. The above is at present the dress of
the "Red caps," who in Ladák are spoken of as "Drukpas" or
"Dukpas" but never as "Zhámárs."

The "Geylukspa" dress is very nearly the same, neither sect wears
trousers, both wear the red petticoat, red shawl, and many
coloured waistcoat, but the cap and bag (chhapreel) of the
Geylukspa, instead of being red, are of a darkish canary colour--
beyond this, except on great occasions when Geylukspas of high
rank wear a yellow silk coat under, or instead of, the red shawl,
there is no difference in dress between the so-called "red" and
"yellow" sects. In Cunningham's very excellent book on Ladák,
there is a coloured picture of a Geylukspa. "Geytshul" or neophyte,
dressed in a yellow garment reaching from neck to feet, and
drawn in round the waist, by means of a dark coloured girdle.
I showed this picture to the SkooSHok (avatár) of the Speetuk
(Geylukspa) monastery, and asked him if Lámás of his sect ever
dressed so. He replied that neither in Ladák or Lhása did they
ever wear a yellow coat, but that he believed the Mongólian

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Geylukspas (he referred I presume to the followers of the Táránáth Láma) did so.

Geylukspas are often spoken of as "serpogon" or "wearers of yellow clothes," so I imagine that, whatever may now be the custom, they originally dressed entirely in yellow. The Dalai Láma and the Tashi Lunpo avatar, both belong to the yellow sect, which in Lhasa is the more powerful, while in Ladák and Bhotan, the red sect is the more powerful.

The following account of Lámáism has been obtained by me, in part from the skooSHok of Speetuk, who is the head of the Ladak Geylukspa, or yellow cap sect, and in part from Hlóbon Topgeys, who was for long, the hlóbon or abbot, of Heymis, the chief monastery of the dukpa, or red cap sect. It very possibly may not be correct from a scholarly point of view, but it represents the local ideas on the subject.

In the early days of Buddhism in Tibet, there was only one sect known as "kádampa" or "dulvápa."

The word "dulva" means "to subdue or discipline," and the "dulva" is one of the divisions of the "kagioor" (or translation from Sanscrit to Tibetan, of the mandates of Buddha). It contains two hundred and fifty orders relative to the disciplining of the mind and body.

The word "kadampa" means "bound by the orders," that is to say, by the orders contained in the "dulva."

In those days the Lámás never ate meat or drank intoxicating liquors, nor did they wear any covering to their heads or feet, and celibacy was the invariable rule among them. Their clothing was red. Gradually there was a falling away from this high standard, and in due course there arose a sect known as "rnikmápa" or "hnikmápa" or "snikmapa," so called from their being followers of the "rningpa" or "hningpa" or "ancient" or "old fashioned" religion. This sect permitted the use of wines and meats and did not enforce clerical celibacy.

After this, a great Láma, named Padma, Jungnes, a native of Urgian (Ujain ?), came to Lhása (according to Cunningham, this was about the middle of the eighth century) and founded a new sect, known as the "Urgiánpa," which differed but little from the "Hnikmápa" sect.

Later still a "skooSHok," or incarnation, named "Phakspa Jamspal" founded another sect called "Saskiapa," from "saskiá" the name of the monastery to which Phakspa Jamspal belonged.

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This sect too resembled the "hnikmápa" sect.

Later again, a Láma, named "Paldan Drukpa," or Spaldan Drukpa" of Lhása founded another sect, known as the "drukpa or dukpa" or "kárgiootpa" sect. The word "ka" means "order" and "rgioot" is the name of that division of the "kárgioor" which deals with "Religious Mystical doctrines," called in Tibetan "Sanghngaks" hence the "kárgiootpa" sect, is the sect believing in the "rgioot" or book of Mystical doctrines, called in Sanscrit "tantra."

This sect, which is now the most powerful of all the red sects, is very similar in the matter of its somewhat lax morality, to the hnikmápa sect. Its Lámás eat meat, and drink intoxicating liquors, and though they may not marry, so long as they remain in the [81] priesthood, their lives are not invariably virtuous, and, provided a show of secrecy is maintained, they may live with a nun or any other woman. The nuns indeed (of the red sect) are commonly supposed to be little else than the servants and concubines of the Lámás.

Soon after the founding of the Dukpa sect, three other sects arose. The first was the Skarmápa, or Karmápa, so called because its members were believers in the "efficacy of works" (in Sanscrit the word "Karma" means "deed.") Mr. Jáschke says the Karmápa was a philosophical school of Buddhism.

Then arose, simultaneously it is believed, the "Dreegongpa" or "Breegongpa" sect, and the Staklungpa sect. These sects were founded by disciples of the great "Paldan Drukpa" and derived their names from the monasteries of Dreegong and Staklung, to which the Lámas who founded them belonged.

About this time a Láma named Bárawar, a resident of "Hlo" (i.e. Bhutan), introduced among Lámás, the custom of wearing hats and shoes.

The next landmark is to be found in the person of Láma Tsongkhápa, the great reformer, who was born about 1357 and died in 1419.

He viewed with disapproval the lax morality of the Lámás, which, he said, was not at all in conformity with the precepts of Buddha, and he founded a sect, whose conduct was to be in accordance with the original system of Lámáism. He prohibited the use of meat and wine among Lámás, he enforced clerical celibacy, he directed that the "Rgioot" or "Gioot," (that division of the "Kágioor" which deals with "Magic" or "Mystic Doctrines") should not be read, and he instituted the custom, which is still observed, of holding periodical conferences of

Lámás at Lhása. These reforms were not approved of by all, and the Buddhist church then divided into two great sects.

The sect founded by Láma Tsongkhápa, was called "Geylukspa," and all other sects were treated as one, and termed "Drukpa." As a distinguishing mark, the Lámás of the "Geylukspa" sect adopted a yellow cap and yellow holy water bag as has already been explained.

Since the days of Láma Tsongkhápa, the "Geylukspa" sect has remained unchanged and undivided, but one new sect of Drukpas has been founded, by a Láma named Ngakwang Namgial of Bhotan. This sect is called "Hlondrukpa" the word "Hlo" being the Tibetan for Bhutan. The above information may be thus conveniently tabulated.

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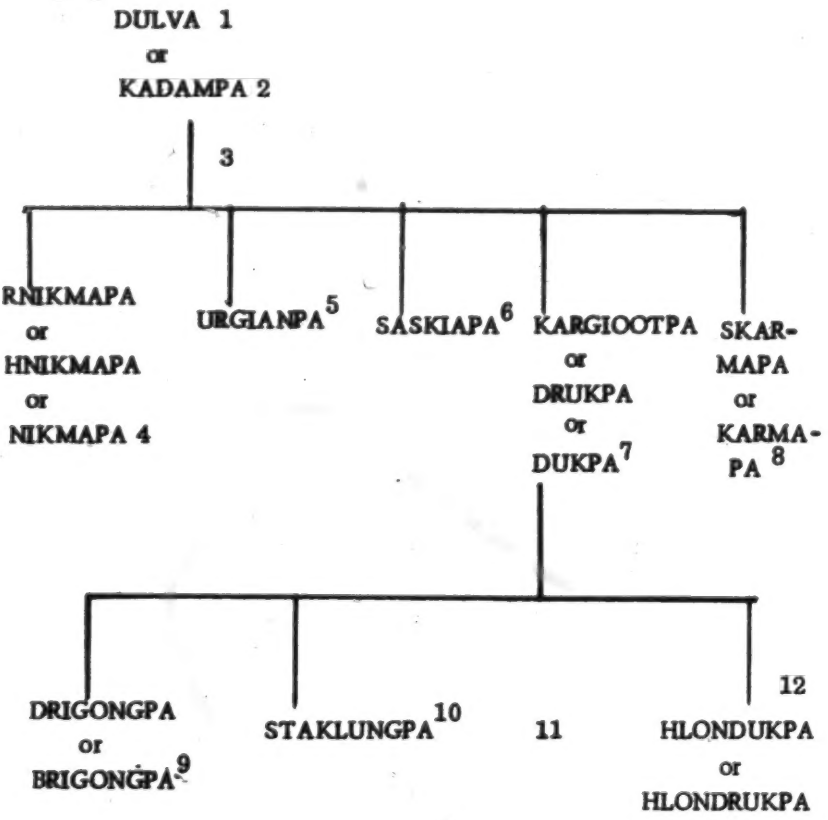

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1. Meaning, persons accepting for guidance the 250 rules of "Discipline," contained in the "dulva," which is one of the "kargioor" or translation from Sanskrit into Tibetan, of the precepts of Buddha.
2. From "ka" meaning "order" and "rdamoa" meaning "to bind." That is to say those bound to observe the orders; meaning the orders contained in the "dulva."
3. The above is believed to have been the name of the original sect of Tibetan Buddhists, who established themselves in Lhása, about the year 200 B.C. The Lámás or priests, wore red clothing, but left the head and feet bare. They drank no intoxicating liquors, eat no meat, refrained from matrimony, and considered absolute celibacy, a necessity for their priesthood.
4. The date of the institution of this sect is unknown. The name should be "Hningmápa" or "Rningmápa" or even "Hningpa," which means "old." The name refers to the fact that this sect mixed up the observances of the religion of Buddha, with those of the epicurean atheism which existed in Tibet prior to the introduction of Buddhism. The Lámás of this sect eat meat, drank wine, occasionally married, and were generally of lax morals. They wore red clothing like the "dulvas," but they wore caps, called "panjoo," of a red or black colour, and also wore shoes.
5. This sect, which much resembled the Rnikmapa sect, was founded about 750 A.D. by a Lámá of Urgian (Ujain ?) named Padma Jungnes.
6. The date of the foundation of this sect is unknown. It was very similar to the Rnikmápa sect. It derived its name from the Saskia monastery to which its founder Phakspa Jamspal belonged.
7. This sect, which was founded by Páldan (or Spálden) Dukpa (or Drukpa) accepts for its guidance the "ka" or "orders" contained in the "rgioot," which is the division of the kárgioor, which deals with "Religious Magic" or "Mystical doctrines." This sect is now, especially in Ladak, the most powerful of all the red-cap sects. It gave up the black cap, but has retained the red cap, called "panjoo."
8. This sect wear the black cap and never the red one. Its followers are believers in the efficacy of good works, and derive their name from the Sanskrit word "karma" which means "deed."

9. A Drukpa Lámа of the Drigong or Brigong monastery introduced some small modifications into the old drukpa procedure and founded this sect.
10. A Drukpa Lámа of the "Staklung" monastery, founded this sect which is almost the same as the old Drukpa sect.
11. At this period, namely between the introduction of the Staklungpa and Hlondukpa sects, the reforming Lámа Tsongkhapa (who was born about 1357 and died about 1419 A.D.) raised his voice against the degenerate Drukpa priesthood, and founded the now famous "Geylukspa" or "virtuous" sect, also known as "Sárpogon" or "yellow clothes" owing to its Lamas having adopted, as a distinguishing mark, a yellow cap, and yellow bag for the bottle for the incantation water. Up to the present time the "Geylukspa" sect has remained undivided. Its Lamas eat no meat, drink no wine and celibacy is strictly observed by them. The Dalai Lámа of Lhásа belongs to this sect.
12. This sect was founded in the 15th century by a Drukpa Lámа of Bhotan, named *Ngakwang. The Tibetan name for Bhotán is "Hlo" or "Hloyool" hence the name of the sect which is much the same as the old Drukpa sect.

[83]Most of the different sects of Lamas are represented in Ladák, having monasteries at the following places:--

I.--Geylukspa sect. At Speetuk (or Peetuk), Tiksay, Likir, Stok, Sáboo, Sangkar, Leh, Reyzong, Saspul, Deskit and Samthanling. The head-quarter monastery to which all important questions are referred is at Tashi Lunpo near Lhásа.

II.-- Rnikmápa sect. At Taktak. Headquarter monastery is at Dorjeytrak near Lhásа.

III.--Urgiánpa None. Headquarter monastery is at Sangling near Lhásа.

IV.--Saskiápa. At Mátho (or Másho). Headquarter monastery at Ngor near Lhásа.

V.--Kárgiootpa. At Hemis (or Heymis), Chimray, Ngióma, Hanley, Kárzok, Gya, Meeroo, Bazgo, Teya, Tingmoghang, Alchee, Yarma and Shama. Head-quarter monastery is at Deychhenchhongghor near Lhásа.

VI.--Skarmápa. None. Head-quarter monastery is at Tshurboo near Lhásа.

VII.--Drigonpa. At Lámáyooroo, Phiáng (i.e., Ghángngong), Shang, and Tángtsey (Shachhookhul). Head-quarter monastery is at Yángdreeghar near Lhásа, and is presided over by the

WT Jiksten-gonpo.

779 VIII.--Staglungpa. None. Head-quarter monastery is at Namgiál-
792 tratshang near Lhása.

795 IX.--Hlondukpa. At Stagna (or Staghna), Head-quarter monastery
T is at Spungthangdeychhen near Lhása.

792 From this it is clear that the Lámas of Ladák are, to a man, sub-
795 ordinate to the Lhása Lámas. It is estimated that about one-
779 sixth of the entire population of Ladák consists of monks (Láma)
WT and nuns (Chómo), who practically speaking, live upon the rest
162 of the community. The monasteries hold extensive lands, for
792 which they do not pay anything like so heavy a rent as ordinary
423 villagers have to pay; and not only are they free from the very
651 burdensome duty of supplying "beygar" or "unpaid labour," which
241 is thereby increased for the rest of the population, but they also get their lands, to a very great extent, cultivated for them by the villagers.

WT There are altogether, including hamlets, some 98 villages in Ladak,
361 and of these the 61 largest villages were surveyed in 1885 by
621 Pandit Radha Kishen, Rai Bahadur, the then Wazir of Ladak who
241 found that the whole cultivated area of these villages amounted
651 to 17,641 acres, which paid a revenue of Rs. 36,326, the apportionment being as follows:--

(a) 14,140 acres held by villagers at Rs. 2·4 per acre.
(b) 1,321 acres held by State Officials at Rs. 1·4 per acre.
(c) 2,210 acres held by Lámas Rs. 43 per acre.

This shows clearly that Lamas pay for their land at about one-sixth
WT the rate which an ordinary cultivator would have to pay.

661 As a matter of fact, this state of affairs is the result of judicious
792 bribery oft repeated, for whenever officials have been deputed to
241 make inquiries, etc. about the land tax, they have always been
651 bribed by the Lámás, not to look too closely into monastery af-
423 fairs. The Lámás have thus retained possession of a great deal of land, regarding the existence of which nothing was known to the head-quarter officials, and for which they have never paid
WT any revenue whatsoever.

792 The monks of the monasteries, of both the yellow and red sects, are
795 divided into two main classes, viz., those who attend to spiritual affairs and those who attend to worldly affairs. The former class is termed "geydun" or vulgarly, "gendun" or

"priesthood," and the latter "las-chetpa" or, "workers." The "workers" are nevertheless members of the priesthood. 792 795

The "gendun" class includes--

(1) The skooshok or sprulspoo or incarnation (if there is one) presiding over the monastery.

(2) The hlóbon or abbot. Properly speaking the hlóbon is an abbot of the red sect and the khampo is an abbot of the yellow sect, but in Ladak the word hlóbon applies to abbots of either sect.

(3) oomdzat. He who leads the prayers and generally conducts religious services.

(4) oochhung. The assistant of the oomdzat.

(5) chhosthrimspa. He who sees to the discipline of the monastery.

(6) chhoSHumpa. He who offers up sacrifices, and sees that the [84] prayer books, prayer wheels, etc., are all in order.

(7) zhalthawa. The Instructor.

(8) máchen. The cook.

The "las-chetpa" class includes--

(1) chhakdzot (chhagzot). The Steward of the monastery, who arranges for the cultivation of monastery lands, collection and payment of revenue, the lending on interest, of grain, to villagers, the repairs of the monastery, and in fact every thing not connected with religion.

(2) ngierpa. The chhakdzot's assistant.

(3) nangngier. The man who gives out grain or other stores required for consumption at head-quarters.

(4) cheengier or pheengier. The man who issues stores required to be sent away from the monastery.

All Lamas must keep their heads shaved, but the shaving of the hair on the face is optional with them. In all monasteries there is a room called "chhosdra," or vulgarly "chhóra," set apart for use as a school room, where all boys and girls, who are about to become monks and nuns, are educated. The Hlóbon and Oochhung are the officers responsible for the performance of the teaching, but other Lámas may also be required to assist them, or to carry on the teaching duties during their absence. It is generally believed, that credit is due to the Lámas, for educating the villagers, but as a matter of fact, no such credit is due to them, as they do nothing in the way of educating any person not intended to become a monk or nun. 792 874

792 person not intended to become a monk or nun.
874 Recruits for the priesthood (geydun) are obtained from the laity (skiao); they may be of any age and of any caste. Among Lámás caste is not considered.

797 Sometimes the child of well-to-do parents is made a Láma, and
565 sometimes a fully grown man, who is in easy circumstances, becomes a Lama, but in the large majority of cases, the children brought up as Lámás, are the children of indigent parents, or orphans, or the fourth, or younger, sons, who, according to the Buddhist entail and marriage laws, have no option of sharing their eldest brother's wife and home, and so are obliged, either to
588 become Lámás, or fight their own way in the world. Among
797 the red cap sect, it is not uncommon for the Lámás to form illicit
●795 connections with the nuns, and any children born are brought up
848 as monks or nuns. It may be notorious that certain monks and nuns are leading unchaste lives, and so long as nothing occurs to compel the monastery authorities to notice the fact, they shut their eyes to what is going on, but if a scandal arises, or if a nun gives birth to a child, the offending monk and nun are called to account and punished, not by expulsion from their order, but by being compelled to leave the monastery building, and go and look after monastery lands at some out-lying village. As a matter of fact, even this slight punishment is not always inflicted, and nuns, the mother of several illegitimate children may be found living at a monastery.

688 Among the yellow caps, the morality and discipline is much stricter,
797 scandals are very rare, and any nun found to be "enceinte" is
795 instantly, along with her paramour, dismissed from the monastery.

792 When a layman (skiáo), whether child or man, comes to a monastery with a view to entering the priesthood, the following is the procedure observed.

The "Skiáo" is taken into the presence of the "Hlóbon" or abbot, who first cuts a small lock of hair from the crown of the Skiao's head, and hangs it up in the monastery as "sra-put" or "hair initiatory present." Any "first fruit" offering is termed "put."

The next thing is to shave the "Skiáo's" head, pig-tail included, after which the "Skiáo" must give one zho (equal to 24 jows, or about Rs. 4-12-0) to the Hlóbon. Having done this, he becomes a "Tsunchhung" or "Geytshul" or "neophyte," and is given a "chhosming" or religious name, and sometimes the ceremony of christening (called "throos tang ches), by sprinkling with holy

792 water, is performed.

The Hlóbon then takes a cotton scarf called "sungdrut," ties a knot in it, spits upon it, and ties it round the "Tsunchhung's" neck, muttering certain incantations while so doing. The "Tsunchhang" or "Geytshul" is then [85] made over to a Lama of the monastery, (selected either by himself, his friends, or the Hlóbon), who is termed his "Geyrgan" or "priestly teacher," and who becomes responsible for the education of his charge. The neophyte has then to learn by heart certain religious books, after which the Lámás assemble and examine him. If the result is satisfactory, he becomes a "Geylong" or full monk. If his circumstances permit of it, he is supposed to give a feast, (generally called "Mangja" and meaning "mangpo chha" or "much tea") to the Lamas consisting, in the case of red-caps, of tea (mangja) soup (paktsha) and glookchhang (examination beer), and in the case of yellow caps of tea only; at the same time he receives a "khatak" or "scarf of salutation" from the Hlobon, the Chhakdzot, his "Geyrgan" and from each of the "Geylongs" of his monastery, who congratulate him upon his admission into the priesthood.

After this, the monk has only three things to learn viz., (1) "kar" (Sanskrit word) or "rtseyches" (Tibetan word) i.e., the religious mumming dance (2) "thik" i.e., the steps, used when walking round in the intervals between the dances (3) yángs i.e., the way to intone the prayers.

[671] If a Láma, of whatever rank, wishes to leave the priesthood and return to secular life, he is at liberty to do so. According to civil law, he has the right to leave the priesthood whenever he pleases, but according to religious law, he cannot leave unless he has received permission from the monastery authorities, so to do. According to custom, he notifies to the Abbot his desire to go, and the Abbot then calls the Lámás together, explains the matter, and obtains from the meeting, permission for the monk to renounce his priestly calling.

A monk who has so left the priesthood is called "banlok."

792 795 688 Among the Geylukspa or yellow sect, if a monk commits a trivial offence, he is admonished for the first few times, and if this has no effect, he is turned out of the priesthood. If the offence committed is a grave one, the sinner is warned once, and on a repetition of the offence, he is scourged and expelled from the priesthood, or if the offence be a very heinous one, he is at

WT 792 795 688

once scourged and dismissed. No yellow Láma who has been scourged can remain a Láma.

Among the Drukpa or red sect, Lámás may be flogged without being at the same time unfrocked; they also have minor punishments, such as being obliged to cut and carry thorn bushes, or to perform other tasks of a similar nature.

WT 311

LAND--sa (as opposed to water, or generally) zhing (cultivated land). táGHok (land temporarily cultivated), zhing-GHok or zhing stong (ownerless or waste land).

WT 423 241

LANDMARK--zhing-i theyór (or tho), as between lands of different persons. Tshiks, the strip of land left uncultivated along the edges of every field.

WT 788 648 T 788 648

LAPCHAK--lópchhak. This word means really "yearly salám" and it is used to signify the Mission, (a relic of the old days) which is sent from Leh to Lhása every third year. The old Ladák Rajas considered themselves subordinate to Lhása, certainly from a spiritual, and possibly from a temporal, point of view, and they therefore used to depute a party to Lhása, for the purpose of conveying their respectful salutations [86] to the Grand Láma, otherwise known as the Dalái Láma, or the Giálwa Rinpochey, or the Deba (Deva) Jung (Zhung). The party is always under the leadership of a man belonging to one of the noblest Ladák families; it leaves Leh about 20th September, and after halting for 3 weeks or a month at the famous Tashi Lunpo monastery, reaches Lhasa about the end of January. The party remains at Lhása for 8 months and reaches Leh about December. The post of Lapchak leader is much sought after, for not only is it a very honorable one, but it carries with it certain commercial advantages of a very lucrative description. The Lapchak leader is allowed free carriage to and from Lhása, (a distance of about 90 day's journey), for 346 horse-loads of goods. It may be imagined what a terrible tax this is, on the poor Tartars who have to provide this free carriage, for the benefit of the Lhása and Ladák Governments. The Lapchak leader takes Baltistan dried apricots, coral, silk, saffron and sugar, and brings back China tea, incense, and certain Chinese medicinal herbs, and realizes large profits on his sales both at Leh and Lhása. Before leaving Ladák,

WT 565 WT 648 554 661 T 648 661 WT 648 439 554

T 643 795 WT 795 over the monasteries of (1) Stangial Ling; (2) Tseychok Ling; (3) Ghaldan; (4) Goondey Ling; (5) Tsomon Ling. The people of Ladák are not permitted to become members of any of these monasteries. When it becomes necessary to appoint a Regent, all the leading Lámás meet, to consider which of the five candidates is best fitted for the post. If it is considered that only one of these is fit for the appointment, he is at once nominated by the Lámás, who then send intimation of the fact, to the Emperor of China, through the Ambáns. If, however, it is considered that several of the candidates are suitable for the appointment, their names are submitted to the Emperor of China, who then nominates one of them to the post of Regent.

T 643 792 795 648

T 647 792 The next greatest official is the Ta Láma, but of him nothing need be here said.

T 642 565 [92]The only remaining members of the Lhása Government, are the four Kálóns, who, except in regard to religion, monastery lands, discipline, etc., are the real rulers of the Lhása State. They must be men of aristocratic descent (roospathonpo), and are, as a rule, members of the family of the old Lhása Kings. They must also be laymen, for no Láma can become a Kólón. A man who has once been made Kólón, retains the appointment for the rest of his life, or until he chooses to resign it.

T 64v 648 66v When a death, or resignation, takes place among the Kálóns, the survivors consult together, as to the person to be selected to fill the vacancy, and after arriving at a decision among themselves, they embody their recommendations in reports, which they have to submit on the subject, to the Grand Láma, and the Chinese Ambans. The Speetuk Incarnation, who has lived at Lhása for many years, (and from whom I obtained the above information) informed me that, in the matter of appointments to a Kálónship, no reference is made to Pekin, but that, as a matter of fact, the Chinese Ambáns at Lhása, have sufficient influence to bring about the nomination of any eligible candidate, and to prevent the nomination of any person whose appointment would be distasteful to the Pekin Government. From this it would appear that, at any rate from a political point of view, the Lhása Government is substantially a Chinese Government, for the whole of the ministry, consists of men who have been practically selected by the Chinese Resident, and who may, therefore be considered as his creatures, and committed to a certain line of policy, dictated by the Chinese Government.

789 [95]MAGIC--thrul (or thul) stan ches (to perform in a general sense) thoosna giap ches(to bring down fire from heaven to consume any thing) nganchhos cho ches (to bewitch, by means of religious charms, etc.), reepSHing or teepSHing (a magical wand-made of a very rare kind of wood, and possessing the virtue of enabling the person holding it, to become invisible).

● 795 609 MAHOMEDAN--pheepa or Mussalman. The word "pheepa" means "outsider" and is applicable to all persons other than Buddhists, who are called "nangpa" or "insider," but as a matter of fact, Muhammadans are the only persons usually called "pheepa," and the word may therefore be considered as applying to them only.

583 601 MAKPA--Makpa. This is the name given to the husband of a woman who is sufficiently well off to select a husband for herself, instead of being married in the ordinary way. For particulars see under heading "Husband."

412 [96]MALLET--thómálak (iron hammer as for driving in tent pegs) thóa (large sledge hammer) chhombur (the heavy wooden beaters used in Ladák for consolidating new metal on a road or newly laid turf, etc.)

273 MALT--lums. In Ladák, barley (nas) required for malt is cleaned and put into a large cooking pot to a depth of 6 or 8 inches and water is then poured over it, to a depth of about 3 inches.

The whole is then boiled gently till the water is absorbed by the barley which is then called "Lums."

The Lums is then taken out of the boiling pan and spread out to cool, after which it is sprinkled with a mixture of powdered ginger cloves and nutmeg, a little yeast (phaps) is also added. The whole is then mixed up and put into a sack, and covered up to keep out the cold.

In about 60 hours it ferments, it is then put into a large earthen vessel for about 18 hours during which time it rises, water is then added, and after 2 hours is drawn off and strained. This is the best kind of "chhang" (beer) and is called "machhoo." After this, water is three times more added and drawn off and strained. The resulting liquors are then mixed up together and sold as "chhang," which is a kind of small bees not much

re-born in this wicked world. But see also "Heaven." 000

[109]

NORTHERNER--chángpa. The nomad Tartars inhabiting the country between Ladák and Lhása are called "Chángpa." These are of course not "northerners" from the Ladák point of view, but "westerners." The word "Chángpa" cannot be used with reference to any people other than these Tartars. Other people must be described as "Yárkhandis," or as the case may be.

[110]

NUN--chómo (a full nun); geytshulma (a novice); chólok (one who having been a nun, returns to her former life, probably for the sake of matrimony). Cunningham says a full nun is called "geylongsma," but this title is not known in Ladák. The explanations given under the head "Láma," showing the mode in which men become monks, generally apply, mutatis mutandis to nuns also. The dress of the nun is, in the main, similar to that of the neophyte; she is recruited in the same manner, and is permitted to relinquish her profession in the same manner. The yellow sect nuns shave their heads, but the red sect do not. No nuns actually live in a monastery or convent; they live in houses just outside the monastery. A nun's room or house is called "chómo i tráSHak" or "tráSHak," and the word chómóling is used to signify generally the quarter occupied by nuns. The yellow sect nuns are of good moral character, but the red sect nuns are no better than they should be. Nuns have quarters set apart for them inside the monastery, where they are supposed to sit and pray together. They do not join with monks in prayer, and are not even allowed to be present when the "skurim" or "sacrifice" ceremony is being performed. There are no ranks, and apparently there is no discipline, among nuns. Among the "dukpa," or red sect, both neophytes and monks, and novices and nuns, may, and do, work as coolies, or in the fields, but among the "geylukspa," or yellow sect, neophytes and novices may do work, but not monks or nuns. In addition to the modes of recruiting mentioned under the heading "Láma," it may be mentioned that if a man who wants children is childless, he often vows that if his wife is made fruitful he will give his first born, as a monk or nun, in token of his gratitude. Nuns never wear the bag (chhapreel), in which is kept the brass vessel (chhapluk) for holding the holy, or incantation, water (hngakschhoo). 792 795 795 [241] [842] [184]

764 Now, since there are five Buddhistic sects in Ladakh, namely,
795 the Geldanpa sect (the Sect of the Virtuous reformed by Tsongkapa), the Drugpa sect, the Drikung sect, the Saskya sect, and the Nyingmapa sect (the non-reformed sect), so there are also five different books concerning funeral rites and the tutelary gods (to be invoked). Accordingly, if one were to describe everything in detail, this would result in a very large book. Now, since in Ladakh there are particularly many lay adherents (literally, "gift offerers," sbyin-bdag) of the reformed Geldanpa and Drugpa sects, I shall here treat the death rites of the Geldanpa sects in somewhat greater detail (5).

5. As is shown by the following, the activity even of the orthodox Geldanpa lamas can here not be separated from that of the representatives of black magic, the onpos (soothsayers, magicians), without whose cooperation no Buddhistic interment is possible; the activities of both here go hand in hand. The onpo does not allow himself to be pushed out even by his bitterest enemies, the Geldanpa lamas, and he demands his right and his compensation.

764 If an adult person (that is to say, in general, one over twelve years of age) dies, first of all the p'as-pun (members of the tribe), secondly the lamas, thirdly the onpos (dbon-po, soothsayers) are needed in any case. Although originally only the members of the paternal tribe were called p'as-pun, now all those members of the clan are called p'as-pun in Ladakh, who honor a common tutelary deity (p'a-lha). Aside from the p'as-pun no person may touch the corpse (and even the p'as-pun may do so only when the magical signs allow it; the touching of the corpse makes the person who touches it impure).

The lamas perform ceremonies designed to expiate the sins of the deceased and to translate him into paradise. The soothsayer (onpo) establishes in the death horoscope of the deceased, whence the demon of death (gśed, meaning "killer") came and whither he has gone, something which has to be done for defense against immediately threatening misfortune; the onpo further establishes when the corpse is to be carried out of the house, where (in which of the six realms) the soul is to be re-embodied, and the like.

The Wailing of Lamentation

As soon as the relatives, the p'as-pun, the neighbors and

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

In the time when the *Lung pankhi* was the only religion that existed in the valley, there were doubtless more places in Láhaul where human beings were immolated to supposed gods and evil spirits. At present, near not a few villages sheep and goats are yearly killed and offered up (contrary to the precepts of Buddhism) to evil-disposed *lhás*, and it may be that animals have now taken the place of men. 779

"Long after the introduction of the Buddhist religion into Láhaul, Hindús immigrated from Kángra, Kúlu, Chamba, &c., but not in large numbers. One, two or more of them at a time settled as strangers among the tolerant Buddhists, chiefly in the Chandra Bhága valley. They seem to have been Hindús of both high and low castes; some of them came five, six or more generations ago, others later. Not a few of them, I was told, had been bad characters, who, having committed murder or theft, or run away with other people's wives, &c., fled into the then obscure Láhaul in order to escape punishment. The regular and frequent commercial intercourse which the Láhaulis have always maintained with the neighbouring Hindú provinces and the influence of these immigrated Hindús, have always had some Hindúising effect on the religion of Láhaul, but this became still more the case when the province was governed for a time by the Hindú Rájas of Kúlu. It was probably then that the Láhaulis commenced to profess to keep caste, denied that they were in the habit of eating beef, &c.; their mode of dressing also underwent some change; the round cap worn by the natives of Kúlu is said to have come into general use in Láhaul at this time. 177 564 167

"Regarding religion the Láhaulis may be divided into four classes: (1), pure Buddhists; (2), pure Hindús; (3), and a class who profess both Buddhism and Hindúism; 4, Lohárs and Shipís or Dágis. 184 779

"The Lohárs consider themselves of a higher caste than the Shipís, but both are said by the other Láhaulis to have no religion at all; still they have certain rites which are performed in cases of sickness, burials, &c. For instance, I was present one day by the sick bed of a Lohár, and saw a Shipí profess to charm away the disease by biting off the ears and tearing to pieces with his teeth a black kid which had been previously shot with a gun. The Shipís eat beef openly, while the Lohárs say they do not at all. [564] 795

"Those who profess both Buddhism and Hindúism live in the villages, on both banks of the Chandra Bhága from Gúrú Ghantál downwards. They maintain two or three small *gompas* (monasteries), and abjure beef, even that of the *yak*. In cases of severe illness, &c., they call in *lámás* and Bráhmans, who perform their respective rites at one and the same time; their leaning is stronger towards Buddhism than Bráhmanism.

"The pure Hindús are only found in a few villages on both banks of the Chandra Bhága; nearly all of them are recognized in Láhaul, Kúlu, &c., as a set of low Bráhmans. Occasionally they will drink a cup of tea with the Buddhists and their half-brethren, but, as a rule, they refrain from eating with them.

"The pure Buddhists may be said to live in the villages on the Chandra from old Khoksar to Gondla, and on the Bhága from Gúrú Ghantál up to Dárcha and Rerig. They have about eight small *gompas* in which the chief image is that of Chom-dan-dás (—Shakya Thabbe—Sangyás—Buddha), before which a *lámá* daily burns incense, and places offerings of dried and fresh flowers, grain, and water, and burns a lamp throughout the year. In several of these monasteries there are to be found a number of religious books. Besides Sangyás, special reverence is paid by the Láhaul, Spiti, Ladákh, and Tibet Buddhists in general to Avalokiteswára, called Chanre-zig or Prágopa in Tibetan (worshipped at Triloknáth), and Pádma Pani, commonly called Lobpon in Tibetan, who is revered at the lake of Rawálsir [778] [762]

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

[QUOTE FROM Rev. Heyde] [Punjab Gazetteer,

Chapter III, B. Social and Religious Life.

Religion of Láhaul and Spiti.

in Mandi. Both males and females of the Buddhists make frequent pilgrimages to Triloknáth and Rawálsir. In honour of these and other Buddhist saints they celebrate a number of annual festivals, at which a great deal of *chang* (an intoxicating drink made from barley) is consumed by both *lámás* and laymen.

"All Láhauli *lámás* belong to the Drúkhpa sect; many of them are married, and possess houses and fields, and only live part of the winter in the monasteries. Almost every house contains a small family chapel, in which Sangyás is the principal image. It is furnished also with a few books, and daily offerings of the kind already described are made.

"As already said, there are a great many spirits or demons known as *lhás*, who are supposed to dwell in trees, rocks, or on the hill tops, and before whom the Buddhists (contrary to their religion) sacrifice sheep and goats.* In addition, they believe greatly in witches, sorcerers, and the evil eye, and have a host of other superstitions in common with all the other Láhaulis. The Buddhists, half-Buddhists, Lohárs, and Shipís, always eat up sheep or goats which chance to die from fatigue or disease; some of them eat also calves, oxen or *yáks* which die by a fall from rocks or otherwise, but this is done secretly. When at Keylang a calf happens to die in the morning, it remains where it fell the whole day, nobody touching it, but the dead body disappears certainly during the night. You see many bones, especially during winter, of such animals lying about near the villages, but dead asses and ponies only are left to the eagles and foxes. Slaughtering *yáks* during winter is still practised at Dárcha, Rerig and other villages above Keylang, but it is done very secretly, and nobody will acknowledge the fact. There is a small temple with the image of a *lhá* near Yanample. Every third year a *yák* is sacrificed there, the victim being supplied in turn by all the *kothis* of Láhaul. This custom dates from the time of the Kúlu Rájas, who (as the god is said to be the same as that of the Dungri temple near Manáli, in Kúlu) ordered that one buffalo was to be offered (as at Dungri) every third year. Since Láhaul has become British territory, *yáks* have taken the place of buffaloes. The Shipís eat the flesh of the sacrified *yák*.

"As there are in Láhaul at least three religions, which have influenced each other in many ways for a long time, the manners and customs of the Láhaulis are of a very varied and mixed description, and it is difficult to ascertain where many of them originated. With regard to sobriety, veracity, fidelity to the marriage tie, and in other ways, the morals, both of the Buddhists and half-Buddhists of Láhaul, are deplorably loose, but nevertheless they stick to their different religions with a tenacity that gives till now little hope for the spread of Christianity among them."†

Religious ceremonies connected with agriculture.

The Láhaulis observe certain ceremonies of a religious nature in connection with the cultivation of their fields. A *lámá* who understands the astrological books, names the auspicious day in which ploughing should be commenced (this day falls always between the 8th and 22nd of May). After the fields have been ploughed and sown, a procession goes round all the fields, preceded by one or

* *Srog machhat*, i.e. "Do not kill," is one of the first Buddhist commandments.

† Mr. Lyall writes: "The very tolerance of the Boti race in religious matters will, I think, be one obstacle to their conversion. In the Sunday services of the mission house I saw an old and learned *lámá*, who was living there to assist Mr. Jeschki in his Tibetan studies, join in the hymns and responses with great zeal and fervour. I do not think that either he or his friends saw any thing inconsistent in his so doing, though he had not the least intention of becoming a convert to Christianity. All worship is good, seemed to be his motto.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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The *lámáic* system.

influence of personal sanctity. They are, with the exception of the Drukhpa sect, bound to celibacy, at least while leading a monastic life, and are collectively called *gedun*, or clergy. They consist of *lámás* or full monks (for the word means nothing more), and novices or neophytes. There are also convents for nuns, which are very numerous. The *lámás* are distinguished by rosaries of 108 beads, which they wear as necklaces. Primogeniture obtains among the landholders of Spiti, the eldest son succeeding to the land as soon as he is of full age, and the father being pensioned off. The younger sons, as they grow up, retire to the ancestral cell in the monastery, where they support themselves by such industries as can be pursued within the walls of the building, and by alms and fees, often supplemented by an allowance from the eldest son. If the latter die without leaving a son, the eldest of his surviving brothers who cares to do so abandons the monastic life, resumes the property, and becomes the husband of the widow without further ceremony.

The Tibetan *lámás* are divided into three chief sects, of which the most ancient are the Nyimapa, whose followers wear red clothes, and to which most of the *lámás* of Ladákh belong. The Drukhpa sect also wear red garments, and are ruled over by the Dharma Rája or great *lámá* of Bhutan, in which country they are most numerous. It would appear that the Spiti *lámás* belong partly and the Láhaul *lámás* almost entirely to this sect, which permits its monks to marry. The Gelukpa sect was founded about A. D. 1400 by the first great *lámá* of Gáhldán, and its followers are distinguished by yellow garments; the sect prevails chiefly in Tibet, and both the Dalai and the Tashi *lámás* belong to it.

Monasteries or *gómpás* in Láhaul and Spiti.

The largest and most noted monastery in Láhaul is that of Gúrú Ghantál which stands on a mountain above the point of confluence of the Chandra and Bhága rivers. The number of regular monks attached to it is small, and most of them belong by birth to Ladákh or other foreign countries. A tribute of the value of Rs. 30, half in cash and half in goods, is sent every year by the abbot to the abbot of the Togna monastery in Ladákh, who forwards it with other tribute on his own account to that of Kángri Donján, near the Mansarowar lake in Chinese Tibet, whence it goes in the same way to the monastery of Pangtang Dechinling in Bhután (*alias* Lo), of which the abbot bears the title of Nawang Námgiál. This dignitary seems as head of the mother monastery, to be *ex-officio* the head of the order to which all of them belong, for the other abbots were all appointed by an order given in his name, and relieved in the same way at the expiry of their term of office; the chain of affiliation by which the different monasteries were connected seems to be traceable to the history of their gradual foundation by missionaries sent out from each centre. But the fact of Ladákh having come into the dominion of a Hindú prince (the Mahárája of Kashmír) appears to have weakened the authority of the Nawang Námgiál, for of late years a mere deputy of the Ladákh abbot has acted as head of the Gúrú Ghantál monastery. All the landholders of Láhaul, excepting a few Bráhmans, pay a fee of Re. 1 or thereabouts to this monastery on the death of a member of the household.

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The refectory or public kitchen is only used on the occasion of certain festivals, which sometimes last several days, during which special services are performed in the chapels; while these festivals last the monks mess together, eating and drinking their full of meat, barley, butter and tea. The main source from which the expense of these feasts is met is the *pun*, which is not divided among the monks for every-day consumption in the separate cells. To supply his private larder, each monk has, in the first place, all he gets from his family in the shape of the produce of the "*lámá's* field" or otherwise; secondly he has his share, according to his rank in the monastery, of the *buda* or funeral offerings and of the harvest alms; thirdly, anything he can acquire in the way of fees for attendance at marriages or other ceremonies or in the way of wages for work done in the summer. The funeral offerings made to the monasteries on the death of any member of a household consist of money, clothes, pots and pans, grain, butter, &c.; the harvest alms consist of grain collected by parties of five or six monks sent out on begging expeditions all over Spiti by each monastery just after the harvest. They go round from house to house in full dress, and standing in a row, chant certain verses, the burden of which is—"we are men who have given up the world, give us, in charity, the means of life; by so doing you will please God whose servants we are." The receipts are considerable, as each house gives something to every party. On the death of a *lámá*, his private property, whether kept in his cell or deposited in the house of the head of the family, goes not to the monastery, but to his family, first to the *lámás* of it, if any, and in their default, to the head or *kúng chimpa*. When a *lámá* starts for Lhásá, to take his degree, his *kúng chimpa* is bound to give him what he can towards the expenses of the journey, but only the better-to-do men can afford it; many who go to Lhásá get high employ under the Lhásá Government, are sent to govern monasteries, &c., and remain there for years; they return in old age to their native monastery in Spiti bringing a good deal of wealth, of which they always give some at once to their families.

Monks and friars

The monks of Pín are of the Dukhpa, and not of the Gelukpa or celibate class to which those of the other four monasteries belong; they marry in imitation of their patron saint Gúrú Rimbóchi, though in their books marriage is not approved of; this saint founded several orders, of which that to which the monks of Pín belong is the most ancient, and is called Ngyángma. The wives and families of the monks live not in the monasteries, but in small houses in the villages. Every son of a *lámá* or monk becomes a *bozan*, which is the name given to a low order of strolling monks or friars. There are nineteen families of these *bozans* in Pín *kothí*. Sometimes the younger son of a landholder becomes a *bozan* in preference to going into the monastery. These *bozans* are a very curious set of people; they get a living by wandering in small parties

in time to the measure, advancing and retreating, turning and whirling with strange studied steps and gestures. The story of the ballet is the combat of the gods with the demons. The latter had become too powerful and tyrannical over mankind, so the gods descended from heaven, took the shapes of strange beasts and in that guise fought with and destroyed them.

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through all the neighbouring countries, stopping at every village, and acting plays, chanting legends, and dancing like whirling dervishes; many also trade in a small way by bartering grain for salt with the Tibetans, and then exchanging the salt with the Kanáwar people for iron, buckwheat, or honey; they also often undertake to carry loads for travellers across the passes, as substitutes for the landholders. They dress much like other monks; but, instead of shaving their heads, wear their hair in long straight twists, which, gives them a very wild appearance.* According to the story told Mr. Lyall in Spiti the *bozan* order was found by one Tánk-tong Giálpo (*lit.* king of the desert) under the following circumstances:— A certain king of Lhásá perverted the people of Tibet from Buddhism to a new religion of his own. He succeeded so well that in the course of fifty years the old faith was quite forgotten, and the *Om máni pádme hun*, or sacred ejaculation, quite disused. To win back the people, Tehan-rezig, the divinity worshipped at Triloknáth caused an incarnation of himself to be born in a king's house in the person of Táng-tong Giálpo; the child grew up a saint and a reformer; he saw that it was impossible to reclaim the people by books, and he therefore adopted the dress since worn by the *bozans*, and spent his life in wandering from village to village, offering to amuse the people by acting miracle-plays on condition of their repeating after him the chorus *Om máni pádme hun* whenever it occurred in the chants or recitation. In this way the people became again accustomed to repeat the sacred sentence, "their mouths became purified," and the religion of Buddha revived.† There is something rather impressive about the performances of these *bozans*. A long screen is first put up formed of pictures illustrative of the legends, and quaintly painted in brilliant colours on cloth edged with silk. An image of the patron saint or founder of the order is enthroned in front of the screen; the leaders of the company then appear in front of it, wearing a head-dress formed of a mass of streamers of bright-coloured silk. Conch shells are blown to collect the crowd, and barley thrown into the air as an offering to the saint: the proceedings then commence by an introductory chant by the leaders to the accompaniment of a kind of guitar; every now and then the whole crowd of men and women join in with the chorus of *Om mani pádme hun* which they give with much fervour, keeping good time, and blending their voices harmoniously. After a time the rest of the company come forward dressed up and masqued, and perform a play with interludes of dances to the music of cymbals,‡ the dancing

* In 1868-69, when one of the three grand *lámás* of Tibet made a visitation tour through Lahaul and Spiti, the *bozans* were admonished to cut off their hair, at the unclerical appearance of which the grand *lámá* professed himself greatly scandalized.

† Mr. Lyall, from whom this description is taken, says:—"There may be errors in this story, and it may be a wrong account of the foundation of the order. I give it as it was told me in Spiti to show the kind of ideas the people have in their heads at the present day. Any one who wants serious information as to Tibetan Buddhism can refer to General Cunningham's *Ladákh*."

‡ Mr. Lyall, who is again being quoted, writes:—"I took the trouble on one occasion to find out the story of the legend which was being recited and enacted; the gist of it was as follows:—A certain anchorite who had lived alone for twelve years in an inaccessible forest, one day washed his robe in a pool in the hollow of a rock. A doe drank the water in the pool, conceived therefrom, and gave birth at the

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

horse to fetch her back. But if she returns the horse and does not come, that is the end of it. The divorce is final. The wife in a polyandric marriage, on the death of her eldest husband, can get a divorce from the younger brothers by tying a thread to the finger of the deceased and to her finger and then cutting the thread.

Though marriage is a concern of the lamas, divorce is purely a concern of the families.

This was the story of polyandry and of the *magpa* that I heard discussed along the trails and in the villages of Ladakh. But I wanted to see for myself how the institutions flourished and functioned.

I learned that the polyandry system breeds prostitution. There are in Ladakh about as many women as there are men. In Leh, which has a population of 4,000, the men and women are about equal in numbers. There are sixty prostitutes in Leh. They cater to the caravans and to the Army garrison.

I also learned that polyandry among Buddhists has increased the flow of Buddhist women into Moslem marriages. There is an ancient mosque in Leh serving the religious needs of Moslems who travel the caravan routes. Today about half the people of Leh are Moslems. Moslems are polygamous, in theory at least, and take as many wives as their economic conditions permit. In Ladakh that usually means that a Moslem has only one wife, for women are expensive there as elsewhere. Buddhist women, left out of a polyandric marriage and not choosing prostitution, turn to the Moslem men and take their Buddhist charms and good-luck pieces with them. To all outward appearances they become Moslems. The Moslem priest makes them wear a large piece of cloth under their hats and over their shoulders on threat that if they do not do so their hair will turn to snakes when they die. Buddhist women turning to Moslems for marriage, though outwardly Moslems, are probably Buddhists in their hearts for the rest of their

of them stayed there for days, making it impossible for a plane to land or take off. Other lamas manned the passes leading south to India.

After weeks of debate and indecision, the Dalai Lama was still uncertain. The Chinese suggested he consult the oracle. The oracle in turn suggested that he decide by lot. Accordingly, the Chinese took two pieces of paper and wrote on one "To Lhasa" and on the other "To India." They rolled these in dough, put them in a wheel, and whirled the wheel. Out popped one capsule. It was opened in the presence of the Dalai Lama. It read "To Lhasa." That decided it. The fates had decreed the Dalai Lama should return to Lhasa. Chinese manipulation had once more carried the day.

On August 17, 1951, the Dalai Lama re-entered Lhasa. Immediately thereafter the Red Chinese "liberation" army raced across Tibet and occupied key posts along the Tibetan-Indian border. On August 17 I was in Leh. That night I had dinner at the three-hundred-year-old Sankar Monastery, a mile or so north of Leh, with Kaushak Bakula, Rinpoche of Spitok. Bakula is a Yellow Sect lama whose soul has been traced back beyond Buddha. Bakula is an important man in the Buddhist world. He is head of the Yellow Sect in Ladakh.

The Yellow Sect came into Buddhism as a reform sect. Its leader was Tsongkapa (the man from Onion Land), who hailed from Amdo, a Tibetan province bordering on northwest China. (This is the province from which the present Panchen Lama comes.) Tsongkapa died in 1419 after having cleansed Lamaism of some of its corruptness. Among other things, Tsongkapa introduced celibacy to the priesthood. It was from Tsongkapa that the practice of reincarnation in Buddhism stems. The second and the third reincarnation of Tsongkapa became heads of the Yellow Sect. But they had spiritual power only. The third of these extended the influence of the Yellow Sect to Mongolia and China. And it was the strength of the Yellow Hats in Mongolia that

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eventually led to the combination of both spiritual and temporal power in the Dalai Lama. The Yellow Hats met with reverses in Tibet. The Sakya, or Red Hats, were in favor with the King. The Yellow Sect was losing its political support. But in Mongolia the Yellow Sect was supreme. The fifth Dalai Lama conspired with Gusri, King of Mongolia, in the seventeenth century for Gusri to invade Tibet. Gusri conquered Tibet and made Tibet over to the fifth Dalai Lama (actually Talai Lama, meaning Great like Ocean). Since that time, the Dalai Lama has had both the spiritual and temporal power in Tibet—an autocratic power that probably no other nation in the modern world has known. Each succeeding Dalai Lama has been a Yellow Hat. And the theory evolved that Tsongkapa, founder of the Yellow Sect, was the reincarnation of the first national King of Tibet and that the latter was the reincarnation of Chenrezi, the Tibetan deity who is the Lord of Mercy. The temporal power of the Dalai Lama was thus traced back to temporal sources of power.

The Dalai Lama exercises his temporal power. Half of the regular civil service of Tibet are lamas, half laymen. The government posts are usually held by two or three men—a lama and a layman, two lamas and one layman, one lama and two laymen. There usually is no division of work; they are colleagues who act jointly; they are used as checks on each other.

That night at the Sankar Monastery we talked of these things. We talked of the great possibilities of Communist control of this highly centralized spiritual and temporal power. As we talked, we sat cross-legged on the floor in Bakula's room.

We had come to Sankar at night through rocky lanes that wound across vast barley fields. Lamas met us with torches at the high front steps of the monastery. They bowed low in greeting and then scampered ahead as they led the way through a labyrinth of dark hallways. We climbed rough, stone steps; we passed through stone corridors where the flares cast weird shadows; we stooped low to enter doorways; we passed through dark rooms,

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making its old appeal to the illiterate people of the land, while only a few of the more erudite priests know anything of pure Buddhism. Even this mixed religion soon became corrupt, and in 1378 the Buddhist reformer of Tibet, Tsong-kapa, appeared, who tried to bring the priesthood back to the pure Buddhism of "Sangs rgyas," the Tibetan name for the Buddha, Sakya Muni. Finding the Tibetan priests wore red robes, while the true Buddhist priest should wear yellow, and, unable to get them to accept the orthodox dress, like a good Buddhist he compromised by insisting on yellow caps and sashes being worn with the former red gown. The reformed sect were not supposed to marry, but the unattractiveness of true celibacy could easily be overcome by a legal quibble applied to the prevalent custom of polyandry. The so-called "yellow lamas" were not allowed to eat meat, nor to drink "chang," the local beer. So now we get the two sects of yellow and red lamas existing side by side both in Tibet proper and in Ladak, in much the same way that Roman Catholics and Protestants have existed side by side in Europe. Yet for a long time there was not much hostility between the two sects, though one king might favour one and another the other.

Towards the end of the eighteenth century, Lodros Chokldan was ruling in Leh, whilst at Tingmogang, situated on the old high road, where ruins of the old royal castle may still be seen, his cousin Bagan lived and ruled. The latter allied himself with a third ruler, and these two defeated the king of Leh. Bagan then ascended the throne, thus beginning the second dynasty, of whom the present ex.-ex. King is a descendant.

From now onwards, Ladak comes into conflict with peoples beyond her own borders. Although one Ladaki king had accepted the religion of Mahomet, the country remained fa ul to Lamaistic Buddhism, whereas the neighbouring ki n of Baltistan had been definitely converted to Moham-

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medanism. Jamyang Namrgyal, the grandson of Bagan, King of Ladak, set out to enlarge his kingdom by attacking the buffer state between it and Baltistan, called Purig, of which Kargil is the capital. However, as he was too late in the year, he sustained defeat as much from snow as from the armies which opposed him, and as a result had to accept both the hand and the religion of the daughter of his Mohammedan conqueror. As the lady was beautiful, the accommodating lamas mitigated matters by discovering that Katun, their new queen, was a re-incarnation of the goddess, the "White Tara." The son of this union was, however, again a good Buddhist, and also went to war with Baltistan, but was unsuccessful. It was at about this time that the great Hemis Incarnation was invited to take up his abode in Ladak, and that the peculiar prayer-walls, of which we shall have more to say later, were introduced into the country. A third and successful war was also waged with the Baltis. But now begins the time of the decay and fall of the Western Tibetan Empire.

The quarrel between red and yellow lamas had now become acute in Tibet, and the yellow sect called in the King of Mongolia as their ally. He overran the whole country of Central Tibet, and then turned his eyes further afield, first letting them rest on Bhutan, with the result that, without waste of time, the King of Mongolia immediately attacked Ladak, slowly driving the army back to the fortress of Basgo. The ruins of this fort on the hill, where the Ladakis held out for three years are still to be seen. Being at the end of their resources, the Ladakis called in the help of the great Mogul King, Shah Jahan, who sent a large army to their assistance, and together they slowly drove the Mongolian invader back over the border. Shah Jahan made the Ladaki King accept the Mohammedan religion and leave one of his sons with him as a hostage. But hardly had his Kashmiri army retired from the country, when the Mongolians returned again and forced the poor old King of Ladak to sign another treaty,

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promising to send tribute to Lhasa. Thus even to-day the anomaly exists that Ladak, though subject to the Maharajah of Kashmir, yet has to send a kind of tribute to Lhasa, of which more anon.

The final fall of the Western Tibetan Empire occurred about the year 1840, when the Sikhs with the help of the Rajah of Jammu had conquered Kashmir, and the latter, wishing to enlarge his borders sent his general, Sorowar, to conquer Ladak. It would take us too long to follow this general in all his campaigns ; suffice it to say he was uniformly successful in bringing the country into subjection as much by his wise statesmanship as by his good generalship.

Thus it comes about that Ladak and Baltistan have become dependencies of the Kashmir State, over which his Highness, the Maharajah, Sir Hari Singh, now rules. His interests here are looked after by the Wazir of Ladak, who spends the summer in Leh and the winter in Skardu, the capital of Baltistan, and may be regarded as the Kashmir Joint Commissioner, whereas his Majesty, the Emperor of India, is represented by the British Joint Commissioner, who spends about three months here in the summer, and the rest of the year resides in Srinagar as one of the assistants to the British Resident there. The chief duties of the latter are to look after things pertaining to the " Treaty Road " and to watch over the interests of foreigners in Ladak, whether they be Europeans, Yarkandis or Central Tibetans. During the absence of both these officials in winter, the highest authority in Leh is vested in the chief Magistrate or Tehsildar, whose Tehsil or area of jurisdiction extends as far as Botkharbu, where that of his colleague at Kargil begins. A third Tehsil also exists at Skardu. These Tehsildars are, of course, servants of the State of Kashmir, so also is the Naib (or Sub-Tehsildar). The State Dispensary with its Sub-Assistant Surgeon, the Telegraph office with its " Babu " in charge, are also State services, but the Post Office is Imperial, and the

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In this case a girl must do duty. She begins her monastic life early. Her hair is shorn, she dons the clerical red, which is, however, cut like the dress of a lay-woman, and wears a tight-fitting red or yellow hat, with the sides only turned up. She is now dignified with the title of Grandmother or *Abi Jomo*, just as a lama of any age is respectfully venerated as Grandfather or *Meme Lama*. Generally the nuns continue to live quietly in their homes, but sometimes they are segregated, as in Lamayuru, where there is quite a little nun village. They do not in Ladak perform any ritual, though in Central Tibet they are fetched from their convents to read the holy books in private houses just as the lamas are. They of course remain unmarried, and are generally very ignorant, spending their time in menial labour or working in the fields of the monastery.

The teachers in this Buddhist country are generally lamas, and their work is practically restricted to teaching those youths who will enter the Church or the sons of noblemen to read. It is quite unnecessary for their scholars to understand the written page. In this there is little virtue, but the actual reading of holy books is meritorious. If the lamas are called in to read *Chos* (religion), they each take one page and then read all together, so that ten lamas reading ten pages will get through a book of a hundred pages in one tenth of the time, which is all to the good. The only books possessed by Buddhists are religious ones, and when the unsophisticated villager sees a Westerner reading a novel or secular literature, he respects him for "reading religion," though a more travelled gentleman may suspect the reading of an *akbar* or newspaper. The Mohammedans too have schools for the children of their co-religionists, and their text-book is, of course, the Koran in the original, namely Arabic. Sitting in a sunny spot in a semi-circle can be seen about a dozen Mussulman boys, each with a book before him. The teacher, an ordinary layman, who knows a little more than his brothers,

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acts as mentor. He probably has a shop on the other side of the road, and keeps his eye open for stray customers while listening to his pupils. He reads a phrase and all the boys say it after him. Ask taught or teacher to explain what has been read, and they will acknowledge complete ignorance, and this with absolutely no feeling of shame. In Mohammedanism and Buddhism it seems as if the letter does not kill, but gives life. If the teacher is tired, he allows his class to practise reading by themselves. Each boy reads in a loud voice what 'seemeth him good,' and a horrible noise results.

Next in importance, though not in status, come the musicians and minstrels. Although no function is complete without the band, yet those providing the music are low in caste and classed with carpenters, both generally of Mon descent. They possess two kinds of instruments only, the small kettle-drum, the parchment of which is tightly stretched over a wooden frame shaped like a large bowl and is beaten with two short sticks; these drums are termed *dummadums*, which describes the music made so accurately that nothing further need be said. The other instrument is the flageolet, made of wood about two feet long, decorated with silver, and having a small metal mouthpiece. The tone this produces is a beautifully mellow one, and the tunes consist of many demi-semi-tones. If necessary these gentlemen will play almost continuously from morning till night, only needing a little beer or butter-tea and barley-flour occasionally to keep them going. These are the professional musicians, but many an ordinary family can boast its bard, who recounts the wonderful deeds performed by the mythical King Kesar, or tells of an heroic act done by some ancient townsman. The story is told, but every now and again the teller breaks into song, accompanying himself on his home-made fiddle. This is much like its Western counterpart, only the wooden section is narrower, shorter and deeper, and this sound-box is covered above with parchment. Strings are made of sheeps' GUT, AND THE BOW OF HORSEHAIR.

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up to enhance the exhibition, which is loudly applauded. When all have ridden the course, they canter back and repeat from the beginning. This goes on for two or three days, and Ladakis find it interesting to the end. Sometimes the amusement becomes intense, when, for instance, a horse has shed his rider, because the saddle had not been fixed on firmly, and the racer finishes his course with empty back.

Games on horseback are most desirable at this altitude, where human lungs find scarcely enough oxygen for strenuous exertion, and Ladak is adding a Yarkandi equestrian game to its repertoire. No sides are picked, but there is a goal. A dead sheep is thrown on to the ground. At one time no doubt they played with a live animal, for Yarkandis do not think much about "Prevention of Cruelty to Animals" Societies. A man catches up the sheep as best he can and then rides with it for the goal. If he accomplishes this, he may look forward to many a big supper of mutton, but all the other horsemen try to make this impossible. The falls, pullings, and pushings this piece of mutton gets, should go far to make it tender, whatever its age may be.

Another sport which the Ladakis thoroughly enjoy is arrow shooting. This always takes place in the spring, just before the fields are sown, the Mohammedans and the Buddhists having each their own archery meeting. A garden or an enclosure with trees round an open space is chosen, at one end of which a heap of earth is piled up about four feet high. Into the centre of this is stuck a bull's-eye, about the size of a china plate and made of white clay. At the opposite end, about twenty yards from the target, are several tents, nicely decorated, in which sit those members of their respective community, who, by subscribing towards the shoot, have bought themselves the right to be present and take part. Others may join in, but are there on sufferance, and if they have not paid, even superb shooting will not obtain th

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779 The Southern school of Buddhism, called Hinayana (the small
● 795 vehicle, for only the few can expect to reach Nirvana), still believes this, but the time came when a split occurred, and as a result Northern Buddhism or Mahayana Buddhism arose. "The Buddhist cannot rid himself of the feeling that if there are consequences of deeds to be borne, there must be someone to bear them." For ordinary men and women the gospel of Buddha was only a message of despair, for the bands which bound them to the Wheel of Existence were far too tight for them to loosen. This need of the human heart for a Saviour resulted in the Mahayana doctrine, so-called because it means the greater vehicle or means by which every Buddhist may hope one day to attain the bliss of Nirvana. First Buddha himself was regarded as this Saviour, and later others were ranked with him to help struggling humanity towards the final goal. The Buddha had the perfect right to enter a well-earned Nirvana, but compassion for men and women, beasts and demons, made him renounce this until he had aided all things living to enter this same bliss with him. Thus arose the beautiful story of Avolakita, the all-merciful one, the all-pitying one, to which we shall refer later and of whom the
177 Dalai Lama is the living representative. Unfortunately this
797 new doctrine also opened the door to all sorts of national gods and demons which Buddhism encountered in its spread, for now, at about the end of the first century, Buddhism became a thoroughly missionary religion, carrying this good news of possible redemption far and wide. It reached Tibet about the middle of the 7th century, where it found the old *Bon Chos*, which was a Shamanistic devil-dancing religion. The followers of the new faith having subdued those of the old, then incorporated much of the old religion in their own, thus producing Lamaism. This consists therefore of a substratum of real Buddhist philosophy understood by the few, and a large proportion of demonology which appeals to the unlearned masses.

* [i.e., ATTAINMENT OF SALVATION ALONE. . . ANALYST]

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

CHAPTER XXI

A Typical Monastery

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THIS is a country of monasteries, hardly a village is without one. In some it is imposing and situated on as high an eminence as can be found conveniently near the village. In others it is just a better class ordinary house with one or two lamas. Some monasteries belong to the Red sect, others to the Yellow. In some there is a resident Incarnation and others are only visited by one occasionally. It would be tedious to both reader and writer, to describe all these, so we will confine our attentions to one of the most pleasing and certainly one of the cleanest of monasteries which lies close to Leh, and may be reached by a twenty minutes' walk up through the fields behind the rest-house. A small village and a group of poplar trees, much above the average size, indicate the direction from afar, also the glint of the gilded wild goats represented just below the roof of the monastery can be descried from some distance. Having sent a message beforehand to the *sLob-dpon* (pronounced "Lobon") or head lama in charge, we meet for an early tea, and wend our way up along the stony paths by the side of the watercourse, skirting the corn-fields, so as to be able to use our cameras while the light is still good. This little monastery of Sankar is closely allied to the Yellow Cap one at Spitug, about five miles away, and is presided over by the same *Skushog* now incarnate in the small boy of whom we shall speak later.

[795]

792 But during his minority the real presiding genius is Meme

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

order, so that he might thereby "help blind Buddhists to get their sight." Hence the board outside, declaring it to be "the Raspa Operating Theatre." He himself once came for a temporary stopping to be put into two of his teeth, one of which still remains after seven years. During his time of retirement up the hillside, he also read through our Christian New Testament, as translated into Tibetan, and when he first visited our house, his attention was attracted by a picture of the Last Supper, and he at once asked which was the Apostle John. He can write a good hand in English, and we believe understands far more of the spoken language than he allows to appear. He is the special abbot of the royal family of Leh, and whenever he comes from his monastery, some twenty-three miles away, to make a short stay in his town house at Leh, lamas appear on the roof of the castle to salute him with their long shawms and flageolets. Throughout the whole of his stay, salutations are played in the evening after sunset, when the long boom of the large instruments and the plaintive tones of the smaller ones are particularly pleasing, as they steal through the quiet after the close of day, and also during the early hours of the morning. For this latter réveillé I fear the lamas have no clock, for in summer it seems to take place at any time between two and five a.m., sometimes long before sunrise.

Approaching Leh from the direction of Hemis, a hill suddenly rears itself in the middle of the valley, surmounting which is a monastery, that of Stagna. The head lama of this monastery we first saw at the Hemis festival in 1925; he was then a little boy of six, and we shall refer to him later in the description of that event. He belongs to a special sect, whose name denotes their pale yellow caps, and who are mostly congregated in Spitti.

On another commanding position, and seen from as far up the Indus valley almost as Stagna, is the *dGonpa* of Trigtse, perched on the top of a hill, which marks the end of a spur of

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

person reached the age of five, he was brought from his home and with elaborate ceremonies inducted into office, the rites being performed at Sankar. From this time he remained in the care of the lamas, Meme Lobzang, our old friend at Sankar, being his lay tutor, while his spiritual instruction was undertaken by the Sras *Skushog* of Ridzong, of whom more anon, and with whom he sometimes went away for long periods. The present Bacola is a charming little person, with a big head and large wondering childish eyes, in fact, it is quite pathetic to see him sitting on his little throne in his own private apartment at Spitug, with the insignia of his office replacing childhood's playthings on the table before him, and to hear his lamas instructing him as to what to say and do in their most polite and deferential language. Once one of these satellites arrived in Leh, and earnestly asked one of the Memsahibs for a cabbage. "But," said she, "it is late in the winter and all our cabbages are done. We have not enough for ourselves." But the lama pleaded and pleaded,—even a little tiny one would do,—for the Baby *Skushog* was crying and would not be comforted unless they procured a cabbage for him. So the Memsahib searched among the few old vegetables left, until she found a little one that would satisfy his baby desire.

The *Skushog* of Peyang does not often visit Leh, and we have rarely seen him, but he is reputed to be one of the most erudite scholars of his own religion. He is of the red variety and holds sway over the Lamayura *dGonpa* also.

Finally, a few words must be said about the incumbent of Ridzong lamasery, a few miles behind the hills of Saspola, who also rules a monastery in Nubra, so has constantly to cross the Kardong Pass. This gentleman, with his refined scholarly face, is perhaps the most spiritually-minded and learned of all the neighbouring abbots. A member of the reformed yellow sect for whom celibacy is decreed, he has yet dared to take and acknowledge a wife, instead of indulging

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Lahul

exchange local products for salt, borax and wool (including *pashmina*) with Tibetan traders. This merchandise they export to Kulu, again on the backs of their flocks, returning in the same way with grain for the winter. During November, the sheep are once again driven down to the lower Himalayan foothills, where they remain until the spring for pasturage. Many Lahulis find work of a menial kind in the plains during the winter months, especially in forestry.

The only time of the year when crops can be grown in Lahul is from May to November. The rest of the year, the snow lies thick on the ground and no cultivation is possible. The population of the country lives off only 5% of the total area, the rest being waste land unfit for agriculture. The water supply, in spite of the scanty rainfall, is made ample from glaciers and snow drifts, and the soil itself is extraordinarily fertile. The result is that crops are grown with amazing regularity and there has never been a famine in this part of India as long as anyone can remember.

The main food crops are barley, buckwheat and wheat – very much the same as they are in Tibet proper. Peas, potatoes, and grass to make hay for the cattle are also grown, and apple and plum trees produce a good harvest of fruit. Cash crops consist exclusively of *kut* or rusta (*Ru-s Ta*) (*Inula Helenium*), a leguminous plant the roots of which are used to make aromatic burning stocks or *joss-sticks*,[1] much in demand in Buddhist and other temples throughout countries of Chinese culture.

The men in Lahul plough and sow grain. The women weed the fields and collect the harvest. The men then thresh the crops or tread them by foot and with animals, winnowing the grain and storing the latter for the winter in their houses.

The domestic animals of Lahul are the *dzo* (a cross between a yak and a cow), sheep, goats, ponies and donkeys. There were no motorable roads at the time of my visit, but I understand that the Indian army is about to build a track passable for jeeps, which will enable them to reach Ladak from the south.

6. FIELD-WORK RESEARCH ON POLYANDRY IN LAHUL

If I have described the background of Lahul society at some length, it is because I believe this to have considerable bearing on the understanding of polyandry and on the reasons for its existence among the people of Tibetan affinity in the Himalayas. It is to be noticed that only those

[1] *Joss* = from the Portuguese *Dios*, God, hence "God-sticks".

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Lahul

595 795 who are predominantly Buddhist in Lahul follow the custom, the Hindu Brahmins of the Chandra-Bhaga valley finding it most repugnant to do so.

595 631 It was difficult to discover if the Thakurs were polyandrous or not. As Tibetans and Buddhists, they should follow this system of matrimony since it is part of their culture. They have, however, come very much under Hindu influence with the past conquests of Kulu, and I have related how, since that time, they like to consider themselves Rajputs. For this reason, they denied to me that they were polyandrous, but I found it hard to take them at their word. Probably, they carry on with this arrangement in private, when no inconvenient witnesses are about to hold it against them as high caste, Kshatriya Hindus.

595 No sooner had I arrived in Kyelang and met the Wazir, Thakur Partap Chand, than the latter, on being informed of what I was looking for, took me straight along to a polyandrous family that he knew in the town. It was on the 21st of June, 1938, and to me, this remained a memorable day, for here at last, after hearing so much about it, was polyandry as I was seeking it.

The household to which I was taken was one called Barun-pa, and it was situated in the upper (northern) part of Kyelang. We went there [342] at five o'clock in the afternoon and, after walking down narrow streets between mud walls, we entered through a doorway into a courtyard and climbed up by a narrow staircase onto a terrace on the first floor outside a large room, which appeared to be the living quarters of the family.

A young man was introduced as Sönam (*bSod-Nams*), twenty one years old, head of the house of Barun-pa since the death of his father. [291] He was dressed in a long, yellow silk gown and wore a small Lahuli cap on his head. This made him out to be a person of somewhat better means than most, and since his house was not situated on any *jaghir* land of any of the Thakurs, his was presumably a *khalsa khoti* holding.

[352] [579] He took us to some stools in a corner in front of a small wooden table and asked us to sit down and take some tea. While waiting, using the Thakur as interpreter, I learned that Sönam was married to a young girl aged seventeen, who was also the wife of his two brothers. The ages of the latter, I was surprised to hear, were eight and ten respectively. His mother was still alive, and lived in the same house with them all.

It was not the mother, however, who came along with the tea. The young wife did this, and my notes have a description of the finery that she wore and the jewels that she had on. Sönam said that he, and not his parents, had chosen her. She was from a neighbouring village, and

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595 601 brothers called Tseten and Tashi Norbu, who had originally been married together with them to a common wife. With her they had had one son, Chömpel, an albino, now about 18 years old. He still lived in the Karpa house, groping about like a blind man in the daylight, as I was to see on another occasion. With the death of their common wife, the two elder men went each their own way, and married into other families, as shown in the genealogy. The two younger men remained in sole possession of the Karpa house and were remarried polyandrously to a new wife. It was after Tsering Tashi had brought back a wife for himself from a trip to another part of Lahul that this formerly common wife became exclusively that of the younger man, Dön-drup, as described above. Was this state of affairs in this household a sign that polyandry was breaking up in Lahul? I wondered at the time, and questioned the Thakur on this point during the conversation.

595 [504] When we entered the Karpa house, the wife of Dön-drup (who had formerly been both his and his elder brother's common wife) sprinkled tea with a branch of juniper on the floor ahead of us as a gesture of welcome. Thakur Partap Chand thanked her with folded hands and [1788] recited some *mantra* (religious formula) before stepping onto the wet places.

595 [62] To my question as to how many were polyandrous in the valley of Lahul, the Wazir replied that forty households out of a total of sixty, in Kyelang alone, practised polyandry. And this included Christian [795] families too, he said, who, of course, were not polyandrous. In the capital at least, there was thus a proportion of three to one who lived in polyandry, and there appeared to be every reason to believe that this same figure held good for the whole area in which Lahulis of Tibetan cultural affinity were to be found. Consequently there seemed to be no grounds for believing that polyandry was breaking up.

595 198 Asked about signalling at the door when one of the husbands was occupied with the common wife, the Thakur told me that this used to be done in "ancient days", when the man left his hat or his beads at the door to show that he was inside. It was not done any longer, he assured me.

595 428 I enquired what a *mag-pa* was, since that was a word that was used to denote the status taken by the two elder brothers who, some time back, had married into other houses at the death of the first common wife whom they all shared. I received a rather confused explanation at the time which I did not very well undertsand, and it was only a few days later, when talking with the Reverend F. A. Peter, that it was

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Trade routes through Ladak are important, and there are three principal roads: that to Central Asia, to Sinkiang in China, over the Karakorum Pass (18,550 ft.) from Leh towards the north; that to Tibet along the upper course of the Indus (eventually going on beyond the divide with the waters of the Brahmaputra towards Shigatse and Lhasa in U-Tsang); and that to Srinagar, capital of Kashmir, to the west, which used to be called the Indo-British Treaty Road (really a prolongation and continuation of the Central Asian road). The road from Kulu which I had followed is only a secondary one, and that over Rupchu is not worth considering at all as an artery for trade.

Scenically, Ladak resembles Tibet more than it does Lahul. In Rupchu, which, strictly speaking, is a part of Ladak, although an isolated one, I already noticed that I was no longer in country like the valleys of Lahul. I was on high plateau, with mountain ranges around me which did not seem particularly high but which in reality, because of the altitude at which I already found myself and from which I observed them, were among the highest anywhere. With the Indus valley, although still at an altitude of over 10,000 feet, I reached a milder environment. Here, there were trees and grass growing along the banks of the river and its affluents. Villages were visible, high up, above the long stretches of rocks and shingle brought down by rivers in spate, where glacier water runs on the surface before going on underground to link up with the main watercourse in the valley. *Chötens*, *mani* walls and large *gompas* were everywhere to be seen, as befits a Buddhist, Tibetan lamaist country.

2. *Population*

The population of Ladak at the time of my visit was estimated at 32,999. It was divided up into the conventional distinctions between Buddhists (29,410),[1] Mohammedans (3,470), Hindus and Sikhs (49) and Christians (70). The proportion of men to women (important among a people practising polyandry) was given to me as 14,760 men to 14,650 women for the Buddhists, as 1,730 men to 1,740 women for the Moslems, 36 to 13 for the Hindus and Sikhs (who rarely bring their women with them to these distant parts) and 37 to 33 for the Christians (nearly all converts of the Moravian Mission). As can be seen, the bulk of the population is made up of the Buddhist Ladakis of Tibetan extraction. They nearly all belong to the *Drug-pa* sect, although there are also rep-

[1] The low-caste Möns, Garas and Bhedas, all artisans, were apparently included among the Buddhists, although their religion appears more akin to animism.

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resentatives of the other lamaist sub-divisions, the *Gelug-pa* (*dGe-Lugs-pa*) or Yellow Hats and the *Nyingma-pa* (*sNing-ma-pa*) or Red Hats. The Moslems are all Shias, often called Baltis because of their affinity to those people. An exception are the Sinkiang Turki and Uigur merchants who live in Leh and constitute a foreign minority; these people are orthodox Sunnis. They have intermarried with the local Buddhist Ladaki women, and their offspring are known in Leh as *Argons*; there are about 300 of these, and they are classified with the Moslems, to whose religion they always belong. A small ethnic group of distinctively different racial appearance, is constituted by the Dards living in the extreme west of Ladak. Culturally they are Buddhists like the bulk of the population, but they are fair with blue eyes, and their features are those of the Nordics of Europe.

The language spoken in the whole of Ladak is a dialect of Tibetan, the characteristic of which is that it is more archaic in form than the Tibetan spoken in Lhasa, where the language has gone through a process of considerable evolution. Dogra is spoken by the ruling officials of the Kashmir State and the Dards have a tongue of their own, an Aryan language.

In physical appearance, the ordinary Ladaki men and women resemble their Tibetan cousins in that they have broad, mongoloid faces, slit eyes and black, straight hair. The men, however, have more hair on their faces that the average Tibetan can grow, and this is a distinctive characteristic. The masculine costume is the same as I have described earlier for Rupchu, and I should add that both sexes wear their hair long, but plaited at the back. Washing among the peasantry is resorted to very little, and the general appearance of the Ladakis is untidy and dirty, not to mention the fact that they smell strongly. When the weather gets chilly in the winter, or when a voyage to some other part of the country necessitates going through a colder area, more clothes are simply worn over those already on the body, and temperatures are measured by the number of gowns one is obliged to put on.

The houses of the peasants and of the majority of the inhabitants of Leh are solid structures built of stone in traditional Tibetan style. They are pleasant to look at with their flat roofs, white-washed walls and gaily painted doors and windows (the lower part of which is usually broader that the upper part), but they have the drawback of having a stable for the horses and mules on the ground floor, and no chimney in the kitchen, the smoke being allowed to find its own way out through the cracks and joints of the ceiling and roof.

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The sexes divide agricultural work among themselves in such a way that the ploughing, transport and marketing of goods is done by the men, while the women milk the cows and *dzos*, feed them, sow and weed the fields. Trading further afield is the responsibility of the men, and, as everywhere in areas of Tibetan culture, they do not hesitate to undertake great journeys of many thousands of miles lasting months and in some cases years. Apricots are a great speciality of Ladak, exported in dry form far and wide, and enjoying a great reputation as being of the best variety.

Borax is produced in Rupchu, and salt comes from evaporation of the brackish waters of the lakes. There is a certain amount of gold, too, to be found in the rivers, and in some parts it is even mined, as it is further afield in the Ngari Korsum province of Tibet.

6. *Leh*

Leh (spelt *sLa* in Tibetan) is a large village situated at an altitude of 11,503 feet, in the Indus valley, some distance from the river, on the right bank, high up in a side valley, where the water from glacier formations above enters the ground to run subterraneously down to the main stream. Below it, close to the river bank, is Spituk (*sPitug*) with its ancient monastery on a stone hillock, dominating the plain.

The population of Leh is certainly much greater now than it was then. In 1938, it was only 2,377, and it was divided up into the same religious denominations as we have seen earlier for the whole of Ladak. There were 1,287 Buddhists (with the same reservations concerning low castes as before), 991 Mohammedans, 43 Sikhs Hindus and 56 Christians.

The Buddhists, it can be seen, constituted the vast majority. They were all those Ladakis of Tibetan affinity, whose mongoloid features made them immediately and easily recognizable. Among them, there were reported to be 650 men to 637 women.

The Moslems included Kashmiris from the valley, Turki, Uigur and Yarkandi traders from Sinkiang in Central Asia, Argons or those whose fathers had taken local Ladaki women as wives, and a few Baltis from the neighbouring sub-division. There were 447 men to 544 women in this religious community. Among the Hindus and Sikhs there were 30 men to 13 women. The community was only a temporary one made up of officials and employees of the Kashmir State. The Christians were all converts of the Moravian Mission, 31 men to 25 women. Leh is the principal station of this Mission in Western Tibet, with another station in Kalatse, lower down the Indus.

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b) *Polyandry in Ladak*

595 1. *Generalities*

From the informants and interpreters whom I mention in Appendix 2, acknowledging their services, I heard that polyandry was practised quite intensely in and all around Leh. Asked what the proportion of polyandrous families was to the rest of the Buddhist population (the only one, naturally, among which polyandry was to be found), my informants told me that out of one hundred families, ninety of them lived in this form of matrimony. I enquired about the remaining ten per cent; was it that they did not want polyandry, or that they were not able, for lack of brothers in a family for instance, to follow the prevalent custom? The answer was that both explanations were correct. In some cases, polyandry was not possible because of the composition of the family. But in others, polyandry was deliberately rejected, as something undesirable. There was a growing tendency to this effect, it seemed, in Leh, especially among the better educated, the wealthier and those who had travelled to the big cities in the plains of India.

The tendency to give up polyandry, was not well looked upon by the rest of the community. It was considered all wrong, and parents would disinherit their sons and daughters who refused to live in accordance with the traditional rules of marriage. This was interpreted as showing that the polyandrous Ladaki Buddhists were very moral in their outlook and would not tolerate any laxity in their customs. Nono Tse-P'hün (short for Tseten P'hüntzok), who was my principal interpreter and one of my best informants, although a Christian himself (later, in 1947, he became Tehsildar of Ladak), assured me that the Buddhists were the most moral of all the communities living in Leh, that is the most strict with those of their members who would not conform to the habitual standards of correct and accepted social behaviour.

595 The problem of what happens to surplus women in a polyandrous society immediately came to mind when I began my investigations. As the proportion of men to women among the polyandrous Buddhists was roughly equal (only thirteen more men than women), it was obvious that if ninety percent of the one thousand two hundred and eighty seven strong community actually practised polyandry, quite a number of unbetrothed women would have to be accounted for. The reply which I got to this question was that, although many men's sisters remained at home as spinsters among the wealthy, in the bulk of the community, unmarried women found Moslem husbands to whom they were only

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595 425 428 [182] He asked me how it was that we were so wealthy in Europe without being polyandrous. It seemed to him incomprehensible that one could stay rich while dividing up the family property with each monogamous marriage, as we do in our countries. It would be impossible to do this in Ladak, he said, because there would never be enough to go round, and everybody would quickly be reduced to famine.

I must say that Lobsang Tok-Tok's question took me by surprise. In those days I had given no thought to this problem and it had never occurred to me yet that this might appear extraordinary to people living in polyandry. So I said that, now that I came to think of it, it was no doubt true that things were not the same with us. When we married, I said, each of us goes off with his wife and tries to fend for himself and build up a family life based on his own earnings. Of course, it meant tapping new sources of production, but then we did move away and were continually starting new enterprises in new places in order to be able to live.

Lobsang agreed that it would not be possible to do otherwise if one did not live in polyandry on the same piece of land, in the same household, generation after generation, without dividing it up. He had noticed, he said, that those Ladakis who were converts to Mohammedanism did the same as we did; they ceased, overnight, to be polyandrous, and divided up the property immediately they got married. The result was that there was not enough to go round for all of them. The eldest brother remained on the best part of the land, and the others had to move away. They had to look for work, often as landless labourers, which was most depressing. He had noticed, too, that some of them even went further afield, and travelled all the way to Burma to work in the ruby mines there. Obviously, he concluded, they did so just as Europeans had to do, because they were monogamous, and even, in some cases, polygamous (polygynous).

595 425 428 795 [AA]

595 123 182 Lobsang Tok-Tok was silent for a little while after this long discourse (which Nono Tse-P'hün translated for me) and I sat cross-legged opposite him, a cup of tea in my hand, looking at his heavy, mongoloid frame and face (upon which some hair did, nevertheless, grow), and wondering who was doing the field-work, he or I. Then he said something again to my interpreter and shortly afterwards I heard in English what it was that he had said. It was that he could now grasp why Europeans had colonies throughout the world, why they came to India and even to Ladak. It was obviously because, with the family system that they had, they did not have enough to live on at home, and the fact that they did not practise polyandry led them to go overseas to seek

[TEXT continues on P. 364]

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158 and deafness for certain periods of time. He attributed this to devils
753 which possessed the individual concerned, and he, personally, tried to
cure them by cauterization of the head. If this did not help, the patients
755 were advised to visit the lamas, who gave the religious formulas to eat,
or carried out exorcisms over them. Chonde showed me his cauterization instruments and a chart which guided him as to where to apply the red-hot irons.

115 The Reverend Walter Asboe, whose Moravian Mission ran a small
943 dispensary and hospital in the Mission House in Leh, was also informative about nervous ailments in the town. He said that men did come
164 to be cured of impotence, but that they were nearly all physical cases
833 and definitely not mental ones. As it was, it was not living in polyan-
548 dry which made them impotent, for if the common wife was not to their
595 liking, they could always seek relief with some of the numerous prosti-
795 tutes that were to be found in Leh. All of these professionals, he said, were Moslems, not Buddhists, and were usually recruited from among the temporary wives, converted to Mohammedanism by the Yarkandi traders, surplus women left over by the polyandry of the Buddhist Ladakis.

158 The Reverend Asboe had come across no cases of frigidity in women,
795 but, on the contrary, he knew of many cases of nymphomania. Again,
833 this affliction was to be found among the Moslem women converts, never among the polyandrous wives of the Buddhist households. He
838 had also heard that homosexuality was prevalent in the monasteries,
792 and since, he said, Jaeschke's *Tibetan-English Dictionary* contained all the numerous Tibetan terms for various sexual perversions, it seemed from this that these were widespread throughout Ladak.

115 Nono Tse-P'hün, as my principal interpreter and informant, was of an opposite opinion. He said that homosexuality was a punishable offence in Kashmiri law, and therefore did not exist in Ladak. It was looked upon with great disfavour anyhow, by the Ladakis, and he felt sure that no one indulged in it, not even in the monasteries. In Tibet, it was another matter, he added, and it was known that it was practised in the large monasteries of Central Tibet, as any monk returning from Lhasa or Shigatse where he had gone for his studies could tell.

296 With regard to prostitution, this is the place perhaps, to mention
171 what Joseph Gergan once told me about the smoking of tobacco. I had asked him on the 14th October 1938, in Kargil, as we were travelling together towards the Kashmir capital, Srinagar, how it was that in the whole of Tibet and in areas under the cultural influence of that country,

2: Gervis [illegible]-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir [illegible]
W. Tibetans AJ 4

summer nights will have a layer of ice on its surface the next morning. Yet the winter's day can be considerably warmer outside than in. At such times of the year there is often a difference of as much as fifty degrees between the sunny courtyard of a Lamasery and the inside of one of its thick-walled cells. Dr. Arthur Neve speaking of this difference declared it to be as much as ninety degrees at times: having always found his statements to be accurate, I have no reason to question them, for I have little doubt that he went round with a thermometer, which I did not carry.

With practically no rainfall there is very little wood to be had even for cooking, and none for firing, so that the nights are dark except for the moon. One can imagine the chances of a crate of window glass arriving intact under such transport conditions as I have described.

The day following my arrival in Leh I was most fortunate in meeting in the main bazaar a Buddhist priest I had before known in Ceylon, he being one of the brothers belonging to the Temple of the Tooth in Kandy. He was a learned old man who, I then remembered, had once told me that his grandfather had come from "Little Tibet". Now old, he had had the good fortune to be brought to Leh by an equally aged Buddhist merchant of Kandy who, feeling that his end was near, wished, for some inexplicable reason to go to Leh, there to die. The priest who was his great friend, had come with him; the old man had died during the winter months; now the priest was to return alone.

He had been easy to pick out from the others, for as with the Buddhists of Ceylon, he had no head dress and wore saffron-coloured robes. The lamas or monks of Ladakh wear a cloak and shawl of dirty wine colour; they belong to what is known as the red sect; their shaven heads are covered with red, longish shaped hats with ear flaps. Some of them are married. Occasionally one sees a member of the yellow sect; they mostly come from Tibet, are of a much stricter order than the red and more ascetic and learned. They do not marry.

From him, together with one of the head monks of the great monastery, I learnt of the customs of the land; why it is that every one in five or six men one sees about is a monk, and the

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir AV1
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793 moved down to the more physical plane and entered the life of the other.

[775] Their chief spiritual head is the Dalai Lama of Tibet, and he is to them "the Vice-Regent of Buddha on earth". They, and all Buddhists believe in reincarnation—some souls remain in the spirit world for many, perhaps thousands of years resting, while those of the more important leaders such as the Dalai Lama and head lamas of some of the great monasteries leave the body when it dies and enter into that of a child almost immediately.

Writing in 1932 of the life of the monks themselves, Norris who appears to have studied the subject, says that they "are generally lax in observing the precepts of their religion and depraved in many of their habits, so that one cannot help comparing their practises with the worst abuses prevalent among monasteries in Europe during the middle ages. In Ladakh Buddhism has sunk into a system of degraded idolatry, guided by meaningless conventions and fantastic superstitions".

● 795] Of the nuns one reads in *Kashmir*, "as in the case of the lamas, there are both the yellow and the red sects. . . . Nuns of the yellow sect enjoy a higher reputation than their red counterparts".

595 838 Either polygamy or polyandry will throw out the balance of the remaining unabsorbed sex, but in Ladakh there is this added custom whereby no family is permitted to have more than one wife. Human nature being what it is, one would expect difficulties to arise in this connection, but it would appear, from what I both heard and saw, that few of the sexual acts condemned as perversions by Moses in the Holy Bible and by Mohammed in the Holy Koran are considered as sins, or even mentioned in the "book" of these lamas.

346 423 The monasteries, which own much land and property, are known as Gimpa by the Ladakhis. Both impressive and picturesque, they are practically always perched on what at first appears to be an inaccessible cliff, the walls of stone masonry usually of the same colour as the site which overlooks the whole of the village.

793 I was taken over more than one of these by my Ceylon friend, spending two nights there, for the lamas are a most hospitable bunch of fellows. I must admit that as I got to know the few

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lamas and invaders. I am inclined to believe my Ceylon friend.

It was he who reminded the Head Lama to repeat to me that which he had told many visiting Europeans for scores of years past. It is the belief of the lamas, and accepted by a certain sect of the Christians, that Jesus the Christ during "the hidden years of his life" spent about seven of them in meditation and study within the walls of the monastery.

I then remembered that on an occasion whilst sitting alone on Char Chinar, an Indian youth had come softly ashore from a shikara, and after we had talked for a while, I commented upon the quiet serenity which surrounded the island, at which he confidently assured me that this was because the Master Jesus had many times, when he was in Kashmir, preached from the silver isle to the many who had gathered round it in shikaras to listen to him.

There is a sect in Kashmir known as the Quadiani who believe that Christ lived there for some time; they showed me a grave at Khanayar in Srinagar where they insist that he was buried, saying that he was there known as Hazrat Yuz Asaf, but on further enquiring and searching records, I found that Yuz Asaf, the supposed descendant of Moses was ambassador from the King of Egypt to the court of Zain-ul-Ab-ul-din. Strangely enough though, according to Kalhana in his *Rajatarangini*, during the reign of Jayendra who ruled between about 61 B.C. and A.D. 24, there was a minister by name Samdhimati-Aryaraaja, described as "the greatest of sages", who lived a life of poverty, suffered imprisonment for many years, and then "met his death at the stake", afterwards "coming to life again and in answer to the prayers of the people, ruled over Kashmir for forty years". He seems to have just faded out of the picture, since there is no mention of his final going and there is no suggestion that he might have been a mythical and not an historical individual.

Some of the old books in the monastery library were in rolls and written by hand, others, more recent, had been printed on paper which is made there and called *par-sbog*; the leaves, which are about four inches wide, are not uniform in length, some are a foot, others eight or ten inches long, they are folded and

3: Imperial Gazetteer G-3 (1889-95) 1909 AV1 Kashmir
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power, and inside a courtyard is a lofty square chamber in which the images and instruments of worship are kept. No women may enter this chamber. Every large family sends one of its sons to the monastery as a Lāma. He goes young as a pupil, and finishes his studies at Lhāsa. In a monastery there are two head Lāmas: one attends to spiritual, the other to temporal matters. The latter is known as the *Chagzot* or *Nupa*. He looks after the revenue of the lands which have been granted to the monastery, carries on a trade of barter with the people, and supervises the alms given by the villagers. He also enters into money-lending and grain transactions with the surrounding villages. Many monasteries receive subsidies from Lhāsa. The Lāmas wear a woollen gown dyed either red or yellow. The red Lāmas predominate in Ladākh. The red sect known as Drukpas are not supposed to marry while in the priesthood. Nunneries are frequently found near the monasteries of both sects, but the *Chomos*, or nuns of the yellow sect, have a higher character than those of the red sisterhood. About a sixth of the population of Ladākh is absorbed in religious houses. The Lāmas are popular in the country, are hospitable to travellers, and are always ready to help the villagers.

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Christian missions.

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There are two missions at Leh—the Moravian and the Roman Catholic. The Moravian Mission is an old and excellent institution, much appreciated by the people for its charity and devotion in times of sickness. The mission has a little hospital, whither the Ladākhis, whose eyes suffer from the dustiness of the air and the confined life in the winter, flock in great numbers.

Agriculture.

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The soil is sandy, and requires careful manuring, and nothing can be raised without irrigation. The chief crops are wheat, barley, beardless barley, peas, rapeseed, and beans in the spring; buckwheat, millets, and turnips in the autumn. Lucerne grass is grown for fodder. The surface soil is frequently renovated by top-dressings of earth brought from the hill-sides, and it is a common practice to sprinkle earth on the snow in order to expedite its disappearance. Fruit and wood are scarce, except in villages situated on the lower reaches of the Indus.

Beardless barley (*grim*) is the most useful crop, and can be grown at very high elevations (15,000 feet). In the middle of Ladākh the crop is secure if there be sufficient water; and in the lower villages the soil is cropped twice a year, as there is ample sunshine; but in Zāskār, which is near the high snowy